Workers' Vanguard

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CPR FORCES SHOWDOWN STRIKE OVER DIESELS WITH FIREMEN

By JEAN LaPLANTE

Jan. 8—With profits already 15 per cent over last year's, with an 11 per cent freight increase under its belt, the Canadian Pacific Railway, one of the most powerful corporations in the world launched a showdown struggle with the Brotherhood of Firemen and Engineers. This tiny union of 3,000 took up the challenge.

On Jan. 2 its entire membership, after almost a year of unsuccessful negotiations, struck to bring this vast CPR rail network to a halt. Other rail unions, in an inspiring demonstration of solidarity, have come out—all in all a total of 75,000 workers. Off-shift CNR employees are helping to man the far-flung picket line.

CPR boss Crump, in mock concern over the difficulties facing isolated communities dependent on CPR services, accuses the firemen of placing their "own selfish motives above the interests of Canada." Brotherhood President Gamble charges "union smashing tactics."

While wages were at dispute the company is making the showdown issue its dieselization program through which it threatens the jobs of 2,800 firemen. Armed with a majority report from a government board of conciliation, the CPR proposes to operate diesel locomotives in freight service and in yard service without firemen helpers. Of course it promises that passenger trains will continue to have firemen, as it promises that those firemen with three years or more would stay on as firemen—those with less would get other jobs.

In a statement issued on Jan. 2, C. S. Wiltse, chairman of the Toronto local, charged the CPR with circulating half truths to the press and the public. "The public can't know, but the firemen do know, that approximately 30 freight firemen and approximately 125 yard firemen in the Toronto area would be displaced."

"Of these men," he said, "fully half would be laid off without pay and the other half would be demoted to the spare list. They would receive the same rates of pay, if, as and when they worked." He explained that while they would be retained they would get no pay when there is no work. "They would be compelled to accept any employment offered at whatever rates of pay are applicable to that class of employment."

A Toronto meeting of strike-idled CPR engineers, members of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, went on record on Jan. 7 as being 100 per cent behind the firemen. Herb Powell, BLE chief engineer, commented on the local's action; "The strike reflects back on us because if the CPR wins we will have to work without experienced help. It is simply a matter of safety. Engineers know it is simply not safe not to have qualified firemen beside them."

S. N. Gossage, CPR labor relations manager, told the federal conciliation board that the company would save 10.7 million dollars a year by the elimination of 82 per cent of the firemen and reducing wages of those remaining. Judith Robinson sums it up in her Jan. 8 column in the Toronto Telegram, "For that's what this strike is about; Whether lives or profits are more worth taking care of."

The strike is now on its sixth day. What have the leaders of the now united 1,200,000 strong Canadian labor movement done to mobilize this vast power behind their embattled affiliate?

President Claude Jodoin's statement of Jan 2 could not be taken in any way as supporting either the strike or the union. William Jenoves, president of the Toronto Labor Council confessed that he "thought the government would find a way to stop it." Jenovese's statement sums up the trade union leadership's policy—for government strike stopping, for government strike breaking.

Sensing St. Laurent's reluctance to move boldly into the situation

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as he did in the 1950 railway strike to enforce compulsory arbitration, (this year is an election year), they have taken over the job for him. On Jan. 7, through the prime minister, the CLC proposed a back to work movement—back to work until a seven-man royal commission struck off to study the diesel issue would report—by December 31, 1957.

Today the CCF members of parliament made the same back to work proposition — experts and technicians to study the "diesel issue" with an added gimmick that the federal government take over temporary control of the CPR.

Brotherhood president Gamble has warned—"If the government threatened compulsory arbitration we would fight it with all the resources we could muster, even political." But the CLC and CCF leadership's policies are not political action to supplement economic struggle, but on the contrary, policies that cripple it. Meanwhile the struggle goes on—on the picket line.

SEL Vote Highlights Toronto Civic Election

The only bright spots in Toronto's municipal elections last month, which saw the Tory-Liberal combination swept back into office, were: (1) the vigorous campaign waged by the Socialist Educational League behind the candidature of Ross Dowson for mayor and (2) the successful vote to extend the franchise to some **45,000 who up until now have been disfranchised by reactionary property qualifications.**

The vote rolled up behind Dowson was 9,862; more than four times greater than last year. Dowson polled almost 11 per cent of the votes cast in an election where only 27 per cent of those eligible cast their ballot—the lowest poll in 10 years.

Controller Ford Brand, former leader of the pressmen's union, who again received the endorsation of the Toronto Labor Council along with the support of the capitalist press, failed to head the polls this year—he dropped almost 5,000 votes. Only one of the scattering of CCF-supported candidates was elected — Alderman William Dennison, who again headed the poll in Ward 2 but dropped almost 500 votes. The scattering of Labor Progressive Party candidates suffered a precipitous loss of votes. Edna Ryerson dropped almost 900 votes to lose the seat that she had held on the Board of Education for 12 years. One-time alderman Charles Sims, campaigning for Board of Control which has the same city-wide vote as the mayoralty, polled 6,982 votes. This is a drop of over 2,500 votes from the vote LPPer Harry Hunter polled last year.

CAMPAIGN BLACKOUT

The completeness of the blackout of the SEL campaign testified to the serious view that the capitalist press and the capitalist Tory and Liberal parties took of the SEL campaign. They wanted to be sure that Dowson got as small a vote as possible. Since Dowson was the only opponent of the Tory incumbent it was necessary to institute what was in effect a blackout on the whole campaign for the highest post in civic office and to concentrate attention on the Board of Control race. In articles and editorials where they touched on the mayoralty campaign they avoided even mentioning Dowson's name. For instance, the **Globe and Mail** reported three meetings held on one of the closing nights of the campaign. Dowson spoke at them all but was not even mentioned. There was a concerted attempt to kill interest in the elections.

The Socialist Educational League threw in every force at its disposal during the 11-day campaign in order to overcome the blackout. Over 45,000 copies of the December issue of the Workers Vanguard carrying the whole election program were distributed—the bulk of them door to door in the areas where the industrial working class are concentrated. Factory gate distributions and an early morning blitz on the subway were carried out.

DRAMATIC DEMONSTRATION

On the Saturday before the Monday voting day a squad of SELers and friends put on a dramatic demonstration in the heart of the downtown shopping area jammed with tens of thousands of Christmas shoppers. Above the heads of the crowd, winding in and out, appeared a score of picket signs appealing to the crowd to vote for a labor mayor, for municipal ownership of gas and milk distribution, taxation on the rich, for socialism and against war. Copies of the election program were distributed at the main intersections.

Aside from the influence of the press, the failure of the organized labor movement to present an alternative to the anti-labor administration was a big factor in the apathy among workers. There was acclamation after acclamation in the metropolitan municipalities — including the mayors of Leaside, Swansea and Weston — assuring even in advance that the Metropolitan government would be in the control of anti-labor elements.

The report handed down to the labor council delegates merely asked for endorsation of nine candidates—three in Toronto, the remainder in the Metro area. There was no discussion on policy nor was any real attempt made to mobilize rank and file support and participation. Council endorsed candidates did poorly — even where elected they dropped votes—crowning the whole thing was the defeat of Reeve Gus Harris in Scarboro. The labor endorsed candidates failed to present any kind of labor

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SEL Vote Highlights Toronto Civic Election

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program. Indeed Brand took it upon himself to defend the Tory administration against all comers and on every occasion.

The CCF failed to present itself as a serious electoral force. In ward after ward there were no CCFers running — city wide there were less than ever before. Even those who contested posts failed to identify themselves as CCFers or to present a labor program, not to speak of a socialist program. They dropped votes all down the line—one candidate endorsed both by the labor council and the capitalist press lost 25 per cent of the votes he polled last year.

As for the LPP — the loss of Ryerson's seat and the further precipitous decline of their Board of Control vote which once stood at 50,000, has removed that party as an effective force in municipal affairs. The CANADIAN TRIBUNE, while tying onto the labor council slate, including Brand, remained completely silent on the SEL campaign. The LPP leadership's advice to supporters was—vote as you like for mayor but not Dowson!

Reflecting no doubt the crisis of that party since the 20th Congress of the CPSU, their slate was the smallest in years. According to their own report their city-wide campaign for controller handled fewer pieces of campaign literature than the SEL's campaign for mayor. The Sim's campaign was a propaganda campaign but without any propaganda. Sim's literature made no mention of his political affiliation. His program, a hodge podge of liberal reforms, included along with such demands as more parking lots and a yes vote for the new city hall, one calling for "more policemen on the 'beat' and better cruiser service."

The SEL campaign stood out in sharp contrast to all others. It made a hard hitting exposure of how the city government in the hands of the boss parties is the servant of the real estate interests and business corporations. The SEL called for a labor mayor on the march to a labor administration in city hall, the provinces and in Ottawa. It presented a series of demands meeting the most pressing aspects of the needs of the working people and leading in the direction of their socialist solution.

Speaking over the radio facilities of two of Toronto's dailies on the night of Dec. 3 as the election results rolled in, Dowson warned the working people that with the re-election of the administration, for the next two years they would suffer higher taxes, that the housing situation would further deteriorate, that prices of milk, bread and gas would continue to rise.

There is no solution, he warned, but for the people to take their own destiny in their own hands. He identified the SEL campaign with the struggles of the peoples everywhere — in Hungary, Egypt, Cyprus and Alabama. He lambasted the labor leaders for their failure to present the electorate with the realizable objective of a labor administration in city hall.

Recalling an editorial comment appearing in the Star, that Dowson "never gives up," he said, "Yes, the SEL will never give up. The struggle, of which it is an integral part, will go on until we have built a socialist Canada in a socialist world."

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Editorials

Frame-up ✓ Jan 57

One of Stalinism's chief weapons against its working class opponents has always been the ideological frame-up—especially the false linking up of devoted fighters for the working class to labour's most brutal enemies. Thus the Kremlin bureaucracy staged the Moscow frame-up trials of 1930's not only to exterminate the old Bolsheviks but to befoul their revolutionary record and expunge their heroic role from history. Lenin's closest collaborators, like Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev were slandered as "fascists," "Hitlerite agents" and "imperialist spies." Later, thousands of "Titoites" were killed, imprisoned, on essentially the same charges.

Even Khrushchev and Bulganin have been forced to admit Stalin's frame-up methods. But this has not prevented them from using the same foul means. They smeared the mighty upsurge of the East German workers in 1953 as a counter-revolutionary struggle engineered by agents of Wall Street. The workers of Poznan were accused of acting under the instigation of imperialist spies from the West—charges that were dropped in subsequent trials. Only a few months later Khrushchev and Company accused Gomulka of restorationist tendencies—then had to retract these charges.

Now they are using the same foul means to smear the Hungarian worker's uprising as a conspiracy of "Horthyite fascists" and "counter-revolutionists." This unrestrained attack on the Hungarian revolution offers not one iota of proof that the revolt in Hungary was a "counter-revolution," only violent assertions, crude tales of thousands of Horthyites crossing into Hungary from Austria, newspaper articles that falsely magnify the role of known reactionaries such as Cardinal Mindszenty, innuendoes about the source of the arms used by the revolutionists. In their frame-up they have been aided by the West which has played down the pro-socialist demands of the Hungarian peoples to make better anti-Soviet propaganda.

This issue of the **Vanguard** contains a special insert reproducing the radio voice of the Hungarian revolution. These monitored broadcasts, along with all the other evidence, including that of Peter Fryer whose dispatches from Budapest to the British **Daily Worker** were suppressed by that paper, are irrefutable proof of the socialist character of this revolution. To the eternal glory of the Hungarian workers and their allies they have remained loyal to socialism in spite of the 10 years of Stalinist misrule and oppression.

The counter-revolution in Hungary? It is active wherever Stalinism has influence! For Stalinism, devoted only to the preservation of the privileges of the Soviet bureaucracy, brutally crushes the independent action and organization of the workers and everywhere undermines the revolutionary potential and will of the masses. And it gives an invaluable propaganda weapon to the capitalists—a weapon as dangerous as their atom bombs.

Over the Top WV Jan 57

For the second time VANGUARD has completed a successful financial campaign. The objective this year was $1,500—50 percent higher than last time. The drive closed with a total of $1,554 received and $85 in assured pledges. This totals to $1,639—well over the objective.

With the help of the Socialist Educational League, and its friends and supporters, over $1,200 of the total was accounted for in the Toronto area. Friends all across the country—and up the BC coast—sent in the rest along with their warm notes of support.

This provides a good solid lump to help finance Vanguard in 1957. What with the steady flow of contributions from readers and supporters that goes on all year long, and the money we get from subscriptions, 1957 looks financially secure.

And this is important! It frees us somewhat from worrying about HOW to publish and allows us to concentrate more on what to publish. This issue of VANGUARD stands as an example. Anyone who is familiar with the paper knows that it is a four-page monthly. This issue has a special insert making it six pages.

Many times in the past we have been impressed with the absolute necessity for more space to do justice to the political questions of the day. This need will never be fully satisfied until we are a daily, but—for the first time—we are expanding an issue in order to free our writers to do a better job of presenting you with facts and analysis.

The editorial committee feels too that the success of the campaign is an indication of our readers' appreciation of the way we are doing our job of turning out an honest and militant workers' paper.

Your continued support — your dollars and the subscriptions you send in—will be the guarantee for the future as it has been in the past. Vanguard says thank you for your support to date and thanks in advance for your continuing help. The October-November 1956 financial campaign was another step in the process of building a workers' paper.

WV Vol II No 3 (15) Feb. 1957
Editorials

IMMIGRATION POLICY

Feb '57 ✓ W.V.

The case of Christian George Hanna, "the stateless wanderer" who has been refused citizenship by six countries and is now attempting to break through Canadian immigration restrictions to establish residence here, has captured the sympathy of many.

Not of course the sympathy of the government which found it possible to pass special orders in council to grant permission to at least five and possibly more persons who had entered Canada illegally and who had been convicted in the French courts of treason or collaboration with Hitler's occupational forces. In the Hanna case, it seems, the law must be upheld in every jot and tittle.

Tory M.P.'s, anxious to do a job on the government, have expressed shock at what they call the "worst travesty of justice one could imagine." Working on the sympathy that there is for Hanna they cover up their callous indifference over the years to the plight of the remnants of European Jewry who had no place to go but Isreal, the thousands of persons rotting in wartime barracks across Europe, and many elsewhere, desperately anxious to come to America. At the same time they are providing a soporific, a consolation, to people of good will who have a guilty conscience about the plight of the world's refugees, giving them in the Hanna case a cheap source of satisfaction that after all they are doing something.

It is significant that many participating in the hue and cry over the Hanna case are vigorously opposed to an open door immigration policy and are opposing the government's policy of aiding Hungarian refugees to come to Canada.

Persons who have never lifted a finger or risked anything in a struggle against the powers that be, pontificate that real fighters against the Kadar regime, which has instituted the death penalty against its opponents, would stay on and fight regardless of the dangers.

They prey on the fear that the Hungarian refugees, penniless and desperate, like preceding waves of immigrants from the United Kingdom, Germany, the Ukraine, etc., will be easy prey to Big Business in its drive to cut wages. They prey on the ignorant belief that depressions with their attendant unemployment flow not from capitalist production but from surplus population—that with the Hungarians will come unemployment. To some they suggest that the Hungarians are Horthyite fascists—to others that they are communists who will bring their "foreign ideas" into this country to which capitalism itself is foreign.

We welcome anyone and everyone to Canada to enjoy what he can of this country's great natural resources and to join with us in the struggle to liberate them from the grip of the financial and industrial oligarchy. For our part we are for a wide open door policy on immigration. We believe in the freedom of motion of all peoples everywhere.

WILLING TO HOG-TIE LABOR

W.V. / Feb/57

On occasion the union ranks hear fighting speeches, slashing condemnations of conciliation procedures, labor board findings—sweeping attacks against government interference in the process of labor's conflicts with capital. There is one form of government interference, one threat which, even when so much as mentioned, rouses the somnolent trade union leadership into a fighting stance—the threat of compulsory arbitration.

But their words in this as in almost everything else are belied by their actions. When the Brotherhood of Firemen and Engineers, much to their surprise, took to the picket line against the CPR, they didn't mobilize the mighty forces of Canadian labor. They scurried off to Ottawa to promote nothing else but government interference in the strike.

It was the policy they cooked up, their policy, that St. Laurent made his. Presenting the settlement to the house where it won the ecstatic applause of the Tories, the prime minister commented; "I think it is still just a bit premature to resort to compulsory measures."

He went on to express his satisfaction that, thanks to the trade union bureaucracy, in his opinion compulsory arbitration by delayed action, by the back door, had been realized. When the government-appointed three-man conciliation board hands down its finding sometime before October 1, St. Laurent told the house, "whichever way it went" now that the Canadian people will be following and reading about it, "no one could withstand the effect."

As if to assure which way the findings will go and to place the firemen in the most difficult position to take up the battle again, these same leaders of labor now make it clear that they are prepared to accept compulsory arbitration itself.

Drooling over the prospects of the government opening the way to 130,000 dues paying members, the top CLC brass have held a private meeting with Labor Minister Gregg, V.C., Finance Minister Harris and State Secretary Pinard. They presented these government representatives with a brief to the effect that as far as they were concerned the 50,000 civil service employees now affiliated with the Congress would be willing to give a no-strike pledge in return for collective bargaining rights. And as a last resort, the report says, would submit to binding compulsory arbitration by a justice of the Supreme Court or the Exchequer Court.

Clearly the struggle for a new leadership can brook no delay. This struggle is the defence of the unions themselves against forces that hamstring and imperil them as instruments to serve the needs and aspirations of their 1¼ million members.

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LPP FACTION FIGHT FACES CONVENTION

MAR '57

By ROSS DOWSON

The crisis in the Labor Progressive Party, brought on by the Khrushchev revelations at the 20th congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union last Spring, has raged on unabated. It has caused serious elements in that party to re-evaluate the whole past policy of the movement in this country, and to call for an end to the long years of ideological subservience of the LPP to the CPSU.

The section of the party leadership headed by Tim Buck, has resisted every attempt to discuss any of the questions raised by the Khrushchev report—from the May plenum which he informed he had not seen the report prior to his return to Canada, although it turned out he had been given a verbal translation of it—through to his repudiation in August National Affairs Monthly of a NEC cablegram calling for a policy of non-interference by the CPSU in the internal affairs of the Polish Workers Party. Buck's bitter hostility to any tendency to break from Stalinism and his attempts to block all discussion brought the resignation of almost the entire leadership of the Quebec movement headed up by Gui Caron.

The plenum meeting at the time of the Budapest revolt in October-November was paralyzed by Buck's at-all-costs determination to rout those currents moving in a critical direction. The plenum was unable to adopt a resolution on any of the crucial matters confronting it. Having stated that he would "never again sit and listen" to the criticism he had been compelled to hear on the previous NEC, once assured of the majority of the national committee, Buck stood for the new executive.

Buck's power struggle resulted in the resignation of Harry Binder and Norman Penner from the NEC and consolidation of an opposition faction including Binder, Penner J. B. Salsberg, S. Lipshitz, S. Smith, and other LPP leaders.

Since then, those in the ranks of the LPP who now recognize that Stalinism is something quite different from what they thought, and are searching for the way back to Lenin, have been confronted by two tendencies. At the April 19 national convention of the LPP they will be expected to make up their mind—which of the two factions can solve the crisis, or, who can best be elected so that the discussion can continue to unfold in the direction of its solution in the

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interest of Marxism-Leninism, for the crisis confronting the LPP will not be resolved at this convention.

The crisis will not be solved at this convention because both factions are in agreement on the fundamental issues of the day—both factions support the draft policy resolution — with the Salsberg group presenting an amendment only to replace section one—the introduction.

Both factions accept the Khrushchev revisions of the Leninist doctrine, both are in agreement on the theory of peaceful co-existence between the planned economies of the USSR, China, East Europe and world imperialism, both accept the concept of the bourgeois parliamentary path to socialism, both support the United Nations. Instead of calling for a workers and farmers government in Canada, both call for a peoples' anti-monopoly coalition, both support an orientation in the direction of conciliation with the trade union bureaucracy.

As Salsberg comments "there is nothing essentially new in it . . . it offers no new orientation and no new line." The political resolution is the old Stalinist line. In its attempts to meet the demands for a re-evaluation of past policies of the party there are many confessions of error in it but there are no honest corrections. For instance, instead of renouncing the now admitted erroneous Liberal-Labor Coalition policy of 1944-45 as a betrayal of the class interests of the working class, as political strike-breaking, the resolution comments that the slogan "reflected an erroneous estimate of the political possibility of bringing about a radical advance in postwar political alignments and labor's political prospects."

The Salsberg faction has declared that "there are two lines and two policies before the party" which "cannot be reconciled. Because the question of an independent Canadian Marxist-Leninist party versus one that is subservient to the CPSU is one of principle."

The Salsberg faction has tried to keep the door open that would permit an understanding of the Stalin cult and the source of the criminal policies that the LPP has advanced in the ranks of Canadian labor over the years. But it has made no penetrating analysis of its own. While ridiculing the Buck factions' servile rehash of PRAVDA editorials on Hungary and expressing dissatisfaction with the explanations of the Stalin cult, the Salsberg faction has not taken an independent stand in support of the Hungarian struggle for workers' democracy. And while critical of Stalin's heirs, of Khrushchev's anti-semitism and of Great Russian chauvinism, it has made no real analysis of its own of the real meaning and the social roots of Stalinism.

The Buck faction, bitterly and begrudgingly, has moved from the plane of his infamous rejoinder "What is good enough for the central committee of the CPSU is good enough for me," to conceding, in words, the need for a new and independent relationship with the CPSU, a re-evaluation of the party's past and future policies and the need for a new democratic regime in the LPP.

Buck has won support from many who are seeking a road back to Lenin, not so much on the basis of an analysis of his program, but because the Salsberg tendency contains strong forces who, for whatever they have to offer on the side of party democracy, outweigh that by their unconcealed rightward evolution. Some are urging the dissolution of the LPP and are openly calling for the abandonment of what Buck has long since abandoned but continues to give lip service to—the teaching of Marxism-Leninism.

Penner, in his contributions to the discussion, attacks not those who have betrayed the Leninist doctrine as much as he attacks the doctrine itself. He attacks frontally what the Buck resolution implicitly dissociates itself from — the need for the working class in power to create their own state forms much broader in their democratic content than any present parliamentary forms. He attacks not just the kind of party that the LPP is, but he renounces the type of party that it is necessary to build in Canada and elsewhere to assure the socialist victory. Penner is moving in the direction of classic reformism.

Col. 2

In opposition to the Salsberg-Penner faction Buck offers one thing, the preservation of the LPP as a party and continued lip service to Marxism-Leninism. But tied to the Buck package deal is the old Stalinism. Criticism is in order only on sanction from the Kremlin. A critic of the Kremlin, as in the old days, is automatically, "anti-Soviet."

But it is their common agreement, their joint opposition to an authentic socialist program of class struggle, that makes it impossible for either Salsberg or Buck to lead the ranks of the Labor Progressive Party back to Lenin.

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Padlock Law Broken

Mar '57

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The Supreme Court has found Premier Duplessis' Padlock Law to be unconstitutional. In so doing it has removed one of the most reactionary laws ever legislated by any governing body in this country.

While inoperative for several years now, this law was an ominous threat over the heads of all of Duplessis' opponents, and a precedent with grave implications for the civil rights of all Canadians.

It was passed in 1937 as "An Act To Protect the Province Against Communistic Propaganda" and utilized on several occasions to victimize alleged members of the Communist Party (LPP) by expelling and padlocking them from their homes and places of meeting. It was once interpreted by a Quebec cabinet minister, T. J. Coonan, as being directed against "the thousands and thousands of people who are communists without being aware of it."

In effect, it banned freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and freedom of thought in Quebec.

Only now that the act has been repealed, after eight years of legal wrangling, does one come to the realization of the scope and variety of forces, the high offices, that were opposed to it all along.

Canada's biggest Liberal daily hails the decision as demonstrating "that our Canadian constitution and courts have the capacity to protect the state and individuals in it from the abuse or diminution of human rights." But strange to say, the Quebec Liberals, returned to office two years after Duplessis passed the act, did not utilize the constitution or the courts to repeal it. Nor did the Liberals in federal office for the whole 20 years of the act's life, bring any of the vast powers vested in their hands to bear against this pernicious legislation.

The victory for civil rights in this case is not attributable to anything inherent in the courts—in fact, the Quebec Court of Appeals and the Quebec Superior Court upheld the act. Nor is it attributable to anything in the constitution which the campaign for a Bill of Rights points up, contains no such guarantees.

The victory is attributable to the organized labor movement, to LPP supporter John Switzman who made his case the test case, to CCF leader Frank Scott who pled the case, to civil right supporters in the Civil Liberties Union, and to the moral and financial support of the Canadian Labor Congress and the labor councils across the country who swung behind it.

Labor, the only force for freedom, won this victory.

With Eyes Wide Open

Mar '57

Following the CCF national convention's dumping of the Regina Manifesto last summer, various friends of the **Vanguard** suggested that they expected to see the slogan FOR CCF GOVERNMENTS IN THE PROVINCES AND IN OTTAWA removed from its position at our masthead. **The Vanguard,** they said, should no longer give support, any support, either critical or otherwise, to the CCF now!

We, too, of course, were profoundly disappointed with the "Liberal in a hurry" CCF leadership's successful steam-rollering of the national convention into acceptance of liberal-reformist substitutes for what socialism there was in the party's program.

As was pointed out, having dumped the economic program of socialism, the nationalization and planning of the basic means of production, and having substituted the pledge to eradicate capitalism with one to sustain a mixed economy, the CCF even programmatically was now no longer socialist.

Nonetheless, we kept the slogan at our masthead where it remains today. Not that we have any illusions about the CCF leadership, the new program, or for that matter the adequancy of the movement to bring socialism to this country.

The central idea of the **Vanguard** is that the working people and poor farmers must take the power in this country. There is no substitute. No broad peoples', anti-monopoly coalition, or anything else, will do. Until this is realized, no solution to any of the fundamental problems confronting the working people can be arrived at.

We could have changed the slogan, as was also suggested, to read FOR A WORKERS' AND FARMERS' GOVERNMENT IN THE PROVINCES AND IN OTTAWA. But what does that mean today in Canadian political life? After all, truth is concrete. The CCF is a reality—with 31 MP's in Ottawa, the government in Saskatchewan, the opposition in several provinces and strong support in some of the basic unions. The idea of a workers world is concretized in our slogan supporting the CCF.

A federal election is in the offing. It is apparent that the CCF high strategists, after their sweetheart agreement to play dumb on the question of CCF endorsation at the founding Canadian Labor Congress convention, are being pressed by life itself to move out to seek not just endorsation but affiliation from the trade union movement.

Socialists, in our opinion, in line with the slogan at our masthead, should throw whatever resources they have at their disposal behind the CCF to make this election a forward step on the road to a workers' and farmers' government.

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HEALTH PLAN NEEDED

By P. KENT

Canadians spend over a billion dollars a year on hospital care, physicians and dental services, drugs, nursing, public health and administration.

According to estimates of the Canadian Life Insurance Officers Association and the All-Canada Insurance Federation, some 7 million Canadians have some insurance against hospital expenses, and this figure doesn't include an approximate 3,200,000 persons covered under tax-financed government hospitalization plans in several provinces.

These figures are recited by the insurance corporations to prove that the Canadian people really do not need a national health insurance plan. Or, if some plan is necessary, it need only be of a supplementary character along the line of the much-touted hospital plan recently agreed upon by the Ontario and federal governments.

But these figures to the contrary, the Canadian people do need a national health insurance plan. "There is a desperate need," said David Croll in his maiden speech to the Senate last year.

Warning his party, which has been in federal office for almost 30 years, that they may well lose the initiative, he said "time is running out on us—we have backed and filled and stalled and looked the other way too long."

The broad sweeping figures of the number of Canadians already serviced by some kind of hospital insurance, mask, cover up, the real situation as regards health services. These plans are not health plans but hospital plans that come into effect only when a person needs hospitalization. They have no preventative medical character whatsoever.

These schemes fall into two broad categories: (1) voluntary insurance taken out by the individual with insurance corporations, or so-called non-profit schemes such as Blue Cross. (2) Public health plans such as are in effect in four provinces (B.C., Alta., Sask., Newfoundland).

Let's take a look at the public health plans. Of the four, only two have universal coverage—one covering only 38.7 per cent of the population of the province. Two of them impose an additional $1 per day charge to the patient, one levies certain charges at the time of service in addition to the compulsory premiums. None of them cover costs of certain drugs. Three of them are financed by special taxes that impose the burden on those least able to carry it. There are other restrictions, for instance, in one province if you are not a property owner you must contract in, in another you must be a resident of one year to qualify. If out of the province for more than three months you qualify only if you had dependents who remained in the province.

As for the voluntary insurance schemes which cover the higher income groups and the low risks—there is a wide variation. The insurer determines the acceptability of a subscriber on the basis of risk, as a business proposition. Poorer risks, older persons, persons with certain conditions, are refused coverage. Those least likely to need the insurance are the ones readily insured. Some concerns refuse to cover units below a certain minimum number or will only do so at adjusted rates.

The benefits are geared not so much to the needs of the subscriber as they are to the amount of premiums paid in. Some of the plans have a top limit requiring the patient to cover expenses over that limit. The moment you are not in a position to pay, you cease to be covered—in some cases you are not covered until you have paid in for a stated period. Some plans exclude certain ailments existing at time of application, whether known or unknown to the subscriber. Almost none of them cover expensive categories such as mental illness, cancer, polio, TB, in an attempt to establish that these are the responsibility of governments.

Given the many limitations and shortcomings of the various schemes that are alleged to cover these millions of Canadians out of a population of 16 million, just who are they? The Bureau of Statistics release on the Canadian Sickness Survey of 1950-51, called "the most thorough medical check-up any nation has ever undergone gives us some insight into this matter.

That strata of the populatio

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Lib-Tory Plan Just Subsidy to Hospitals

Some time around Jan. 1, 1959, a national hospital plan will be in operation. This has been made possible through an agreement just reached by the Liberal Federal and Tory Ontario governments after years of tossing the matter back and forth like a hot potato. They hope to remove the issue of a national health insurance plan from the coming election.

From information already available, it is apparent that the plan is primarily a re-allocation of government funds already being spent to subsidize hospitals, to pay for the care of indigents, to insure those that the insurance corporations consider un-insurable. It is a plan to underwrite the Big Business interests that exploit human sickness and disease.

The Tories intend to make Blue Cross, which has been characterized as nothing but a check-off agency for the hospitals, the nucleus of the subscribers, and the administrating apparatus. The plan will be voluntary. According to Premier Frost, rates will be higher than current Blue Cross rates but will be cheaper once the plan is in operation since Blue Cross will be raising its rates in the meantime.

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Govt. Survey Reveals Crying Need For Socialized Health Services

(Continued from page 1)

that is able to buy into some sort of health insurance plan is the strata that least requires the protection of such plans—not only by reason of income but also by reason of the nature of their employment and of their general state of health. The survey reveals that contrary to the old saying that you can't buy health—health and wealth bear a direct relationship.

Only half of the families earning between $1,500 and $3,000 a year are covered by any form of insurance. This income group accounts for almost three quarters of all persons receiving earned incomes. Barely a quarter of those living on less than $1,500 a year have any kind of protection.

Sixty-three per cent of this strata never see a doctor during the year. While statistically they do not appear to get sick more frequently than the rest of the population—about twice a year—their illnesses are more serious and disabling.

This difference was most pronounced among men in the working years from 25 to 45. Within this age group those who had to go to hospital had to stay there an average of 35 days—against less than nine days for all other income groups in the same age bracket.

Among Canadian families whose annual income is under $1,500—this accounts for almost a fifth of the population—illness disables the average person for 18 days a year . . . against only 10 days for those whose earnings are $3,000 or more.

The relation between income and health services is revealed clearly in the field of dental care. During the survey year, 22 per cent of the children in high income families saw a dentist. But only 6.2 of those in the lowest group did so.

The real state of Canadian health and the crying need for a national health insurance plan is revealed by data and statistics which are only brought to our attention during hospital fund raising campaigns, etc.

Some 41,000 Canadians were killed in World War II but during the war 130,000 babies were lost stillborn and under one year of age. Canada is way down the list, among the more impoverished countries of the world, with regards to infant mortality. In 1954 there were 32 deaths for every 1,000 born alive—Sweden suffered only 18 deaths.

Of the 117 obstetrical deaths in Metropolitan Toronto, studied over a five-year period by a committee that reported to the 1956 Ontario Medical Association convention, 78 per cent were preventable. There is a yearly loss of 18 young women in Toronto—six through so-called criminal abortions which, the reporter commented, occurred "mostly among women with families living in basement apartments who cannot afford more children."

Two of the 117 deaths were caused because hospitals in this modern metropolis did not have blood transfusion facilities.

According to D. L. Boyfford, executive director of the Catholic Blood Bank, seven out of every 10 patients in a large Toronto hospital cannot afford to pay for a blood transfusion. Some who paid for the blood they received did so only by depriving themselves of necessities after they left the hospital.

Not only is a national health insurance plan necessary, to open up, to make accessible the miracles of modern medicine to broad layers of the Canadian working class now deprived of it. A plan is necessary to revolutionize the whole health field which has been geared by the system and by those in high office, to meet and conform to the present situation like any other business.

If all the persons now needing dental care were financially able to go to the dentist, only children up to the age of seven could be given full dental care. Dr. Wesley Dunn, editor of the **Canadian Dental Journal** estimates that 15,000 dentists would be required to meet the decay problem alone. There are 5,300 dentists in Canada.

Almost half of the mentally retarded children in Ontario (over 4,500 children) should be in institutions but can't get past the waiting list.

Professor Clarence Barber, an economist at the University of Manitoba, writes in the CANADIAN TAX JOURNAL that the total expenditure for complete hospital medical care, sickness benefits, family allowances adjusted upwards to meet today's prices, old age pensions of $60 starting at 65, would be $1¼ million annually. Canadians spend over a billion dollars a year now for what they receive and on top of that $325 million in lost pay.

What then, stands in the way of a national health plan?—vested interests in the profitable business that makes millions out of sickness and disease, and government's that function as their servants; as we will show in a subsequent article.

THE WORKERS VANGUARD

April 1957
#17

04-01-1

CCF ENDORSED BY ONT. LABOR

By ROSS DOWSON

Amidst cheers, exploding balloons and firecrackers, thunderous applause, and papers fluttering through the air, the newly organized Ontario Federation of Labor endorsed the CCF as its political arm.

This was the climax of the convention held in Toronto in the last week of March which also saw the final unification of the old Ontario Federation of Labor (CIO-CCL) and the Ontario Provincial Federation of Labor (AFL-TLC). The convention knit together 500,000 Ontario workers, half the strength of organized labor in the country.

The 700 delegates were almost unanimous in their rapid passage of the political action resolution presented by the convention committee—a substitute for nine other resolutions from various affiliated bodies. The resolution committed the convention to "full support of the CCF and, particularly its candidates in the forthcoming 1957 Federal Election."

The only expression of opposition came from a delegate who tried to popularize that antediluvian myth of non-party politics, of endorsing the "individual" politician who would "look after labor." The day previous to the actual unification, the delegates at the last session of the old Ontario Provincial Federation of Labor heard the retiring president, A. F. MacArthur, make a final appeal to keep out of politics.

But the delegates had long since seen through the hollowness of these arguments. They understood that labor has to fight with both arms, not only against the individual employer but against the employers organized as a class in the Liberal, Tory and Social Credit parties and in state power; that labor has to have a party of its own it can mobilize its forces behind and place into power; and that the CCF, no matter what criticisms can be made of it, is the only major party that can in any way claim to represent the interests of the Canadian workers.

The endorsation of the CCF by the united convention was pretty much a foregone conclusion. It was the climax of a series of actions. Only a week previous the Toronto and District Labor Council, representing 110,000 workers and the Hamilton Labor Council, representing another 30,000 workers, came out in firm support of the CCF.

A day prior to the unification convention, the old Ontario Federation of Labor's 400 delegates reaffirmed the position of CCF support that the federation has taken since its inception. At the same time the DeHavilland local of the UAW not only endorsed the CCF but actually affiliated to it—the first UAW local to take such action.

But everyone knows that endorsation of the CCF and the swinging of the mighty electoral strength of the union ranks behind its candidates are two different matters. After all, the CCF had been endorsed by the old Canadian Congress of Labor since 1943. There were always powerful CCF forces in the old Trades and Labor Congress. A motion that the last OPFL convention endorse the CCF was only defeated by a snap motion to table. If the top CCF brass had not enforced a keep-silent policy on this question at last year's united Canadian Labor Congress there is little doubt that endorsation of the CCF would have carried the day.

But despite this influence in the top and secondary layers of the trade union leadership the CCF has continued to decline in electoral support. Many militants have expressed dissatisfaction with the middle class character of the party's leadership, its lack of dynamism, its identity with an important part of the trade union bureaucracy, its disdain for the workers. The CCF leadership's flouting of the party's convention policy in order to support German Rearmament, the high handed dumping of the socialist Regina

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Ont. Labor

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(Continued from page 1)

Manifesto for the reformist Winnipeg Manifesto, the expulsions of left critics from the party and its incessant search for respectability have certainly not passed by unnoticed. There are important tendencies in the labor movement that are looking to some new political formation.

The resolution endorsing the CCF adopted by the Toronto Labor Council recognized this with the comment; "The feeling has been expressed on more than one occasion that we need a Labor Party through which we can express our political needs. The facts of the situation are, that we have no labor party as such, and we face a Federal election in the near future."

The results of this coming federal election will have a decisive bearing on the future path that labor political action will take. How this endorsation is developed will, in turn, to a large degree determine the election results.

Will it just be the same old voting of union funds to the CCF? Will the instrument already at hand be infused with a new content? Win, draw or even lose, will foundations be laid that will ensure the future development of labor's political action through the CCF?

The CCF has been endorsed! Unions should now affiliate to the CCF, move in on it, shape its policy. The Political Educational Committees need to be developed, the best elements brought into them. Consistent shop level political work needs to be planned. The program needs to be discussed. A program that is a dynamic alternative to the anti-working class policies of the boss parties must be presented to the electorate.

WV #17 April '57

HEALTH PLAN OPPOSED BY BIG

By P. KENT

Since the need for a national health plan, for socialized medicine, is as the Liberal Senator David Croll put it, such a "desperate" one, since all the data from all sources, the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, official journals, reports presented to medical, dental and hospital associations, etc., proves this need beyond a shadow of a doubt, why then is there no national health plan in operation?

There have been many arguments presented against a national health plan. At times the government has pleaded insufficient funds. But it has been established that due to waste and the inefficient use of Canada's medical resources, not to mention what the total lack of preventive medicine costs each year, more is being paid out now than would be if there were a national health plan. Furthermore, the Minister of Finance last month, in casually reporting an expenditure of almost 2 billion dollars for military purposes, was compelled to admit to a surplus of almost 500 million dollars.

At one time the shortage of hospital beds, doctors, nurses, etc., was the clincher, but it has not been difficult to show that this shortage which continues to increase, will only be resolved by ...ndling it as part of the costs ...d responsibilities of a national ...ealth insurance plan. Standing ...hind all the arguments, when all ...e verbiage is stripped aside, the ...position to a national health plan revealed to be nothing but naked ...nancial, naked class interest — ...rofit.

Over 16 million Canadians, some ... them desperately, need a na...onal health plan, but aligned ...ainst them in their relatively small numbers is; the hierarchy that dominates the organizations of the medical and dental profession, Blue Cross, the insurance corporations, hospital boards, pharmaceutical and drug corporations, the Liberal Tory and Social Credit parties, and the daily press. Their will has prevailed because the colossal power of the Canadian people has not been mobilized in such a way as to assure that THEIRS will prevail.

The medical profession, and all fields of human endeavor related to it, appeals to the most noble aspirations of the human spirit. Dr. C. L. Gass, retiring president of the College of General Practice of Canada said to its first national scientific convention on March 5th:

"Strip medicine of the idealism which has characterized it through the ages, make it just a business, prostitute the doctor-patient relationship and look out upon sickness and suffering as a field white for the harvest of dollars and medicine becomes a low, menial and often filthy way of making money. That is not to say that we should not be well paid . . . Yet we must not overestimate our worth and value to society in terms of money. Nor should we adopt the constraining practices proper and no doubt necessary in business and industry."

The idealism to which medicine appeals is indeed a flimsy thing to stand up before the pressures of society—a capitalist society—one geared to profits — particularly when its leading spokesmen such as Dr. Gass, recognize as "proper" and as "no doubt necessary" constraining practices in other businesses and industries. For sickness and disease are Big Business, they are very Big Business.

Dr. Salk, the discoverer of polio vaccine, made no money from his contribution to this discovery, but others did. The Canadian government, producing the vaccine through the facilities of the University of Toronto, estimated the cost of three shots at $1.50. But American drug companies charged $4.33 wholesale for the same three shots. They charged cost, plus 189 per cent.

The American Medical Association balked, but went along with the free distribution and the stipulation by the National Infantile Paralysis Foundation that US doctors dispense the vaccine free of charge to 9 million children. But when it came to vaccine sold through regular commercial channels, local chapters of the AMA decided that doctors should charge $6 for the vaccine wholesaled to them for $4.33, plus $5 for each of the three necessary office calls.

On the basis of the office calls alone it has been estimated that this would gather in $15,000 for each physician available for this work, not to speak of the $1,670 he would pick up in profit from the vaccine.

The convention of the AMA that year demanded "immediate termination" of free distribution of Salk anti-polio vaccine, claiming this is "a violation of the principles of free enterprise."

In the same "free enterprise" spirit, according to the crown counsel representing the department of revenue, British Columbia doctors have had a deal since 1931 with Imperial Optical to receive a kick back from prescriptions they issue. The doctors receive the difference between wholesale price and retail sales price on glasses and lenses — the minimum kick back on each prescription, crown counsel Grossman said, was $4.50. When the BC Medical Act declared such agreements illegal, Grossman stated that the doctors became "scared" to take out their kick backs and a Prescription Optical Company was set up.

This information has come to light since 20 Vancouver and Victoria doctors have appealed the revenue department's assessments with the claim that money they have received from Prescription Optical is "capital gains," non-taxable income. According to the crown, these 20 doctors have, since 1947, taken $390,000 in kickbacks, ranging from $4,488 to $54,754 per doctor.

In order to curb the most flagrant practitioners of "free enterprise" in the drug business, whose unbridled thirst for profit would endanger the health of the whole community, the state has set up health, sanitation and drug standards bodies. But for all this, Hon. Paul Martin, minister of health, informed the house that, of the vitamin products examined by his department in 1952 and 1953, one out of five were below the potency claimed by the drug manufacturer.

Dr. John McKelvey, speaking at the Kitchener-Waterloo Academy of Medicine's Clinic Day two years ago condemned "dishonest" practices of drug supply houses in connection with iron supplied women during pregnancy. He stated that treatment costs $60 instead of $1.50 due to drug firms insisting on mixing in other expensive ingredients besides the needed iron salt.

Dr. McKelvey added that doctors share blame for the situation because they continue to prescribe them after medical science has proved them outmoded.

Under the British national health plan prescriptions go through a Central Pricing Bureau before payment to the druggist or chemist. Canadian drug and pharmaceutical corporations quite logically assume that a national health plan would prove a serious restraint on their profiteering. No doubt there would be an increase of such projects as free distribution of production-at-cost polio vaccine. Pressures would develop for the elimination of profiteering in drug supplies and for the national ownership of this industry as part of the national health plan.

This series of three articles will be completed in the May issue.

#17 April 1957 Editorials

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Behind the Probe of Beck

Apr '57

No doubt many workers are pleased to see the exposures of the Teamsters Union top brass at the US Senatorial Committee hearings. Beck, Hoffa, Hal Banks, and their ilk, deserve everything they get. No unionist could possibly shed a tear for them.

But there is just one thing wrong with the picture flashed over the TV screen. The wrong persons are grilling Beck and for purposes totally alien to the interests of the union rank and file.

The Senate that is holding the probe, the press in this country that is playing it up with such relish, are really not outraged by the nefarious doings of the Becks. Why, they are their boys. The system that they support grows the Becks. They don't want to clean the "labor bosses" out of the house of labor. They want to clean the labor movement out of existence.

Senator McCarthy, a member of the committee, made it clear in his threat that the UAW would be "investigated" next. "The Teamsters Union will smell like a high grade perfume to what we will find in the Reuther union," he threatened. Senator McNamara told Beck—"Certainly you are placing the 15 million Americans in some jeopardy when you are inviting by your conduct in the past, legislation that will curb all of these members."

That's what it is all about—the Senatorial investigation is part of the preparation to put over anti-labor legislation—legislation aimed against the whole labor movement. The editors of the **Globe and Mail** have smelled out the possibilities of the situation for the Canadian bosses. They are already urging that the Ontario Labor Relations Act, which is coming up for revision, be strengthened to defend "helpless" Big Business against "exploiting" labor.

AFL-CIO president Meany has called an extraordinary session of the Executive Council, not to consider how to combat this threat of anti-labor laws, but what to do with Beck. Not for his crimes against the teamsters rank and file but for his refusal to kow-tow to an anti-labor Senate Committee.

The Becks and the Hoffas should be kicked out of the labor movement but fast. That's the task of the rank and file—it cannot be farmed out to anyone else. The possibilities for doing the kind of job that needs to be done on the trade union brass were revealed by rank and file Steelworkers in their support of the Rarick Dues Protest Committee campaign against President Donald MacDonald. Then there is the rising opposition in the Autoworkers.

They Are All Guilty

WV Apr 57

The suicide of E. H. Norman, Canadian Ambassador to Egypt, before the witch-hunt persecution of the US senatorial internal security sub-committee headed up by Senators Jenner and Eastland, has roused international protest.

Is the blame just to be laid at the door of a group of men with warped and corrupt minds ensconced in Senatorial offices in Washington? Frightened by the international repercussions, a member of the sub-committee has revealed that the committee's report had been released with the approval of the US State Department itself!

It is the US State Department and its allies in the international conspiracy to crush the rising colonial freedom struggles and prepare the peoples at home for H Bomb assault on the USSR and Eastern Europe, that has spawned the McCarthyite witch-hunt. The purpose is to smear, isolate and destroy both immediate and potential opponents of its policies—primarily the organized labor movement.

The crudity and the length to which it has developed in the US, and the fact that Norman was a victim of US witch-hunters, has tended to turn the protests into the path of vulgar anti-Americanism and obscure the real nature of the problem.

But isn't the modesty, the restraint, of the Liberal government to the witch-hunt murder of one of its top civil servants striking?

The restrained character of the government's protest flows not only from the fact that it is in fundamental agreement with and inextricably tied to the world wide political strategy of the US State Department. The government is in agreement with the over-all basic aims and objectives of the witch-hunt.

In fact, in the witch-hunt that opened up with the cold war, it was the King government that fired the first shot—the Gouzenko case, the arrests without charge or public hearing of a score of Canadians.

Since then, hundreds of civil servants have been dismissed or transferred without recourse to a hearing, to seeing the evidence, or to meeting their accusers. The government has written the witch-hunt into the statute books. In 1951 it passed an order in council instituting a loyalty screen of seamen employed on the Great Lakes. At the time of renewal of the legislation in 1954 under the Navigable Waters Protection Act, Labor Minister Gregg revealed that 22 persons had been refused employment on the Lakes.

Two years ago the government wrote into the Criminal Code a section that makes anyone liable to the death penalty who would oppose Canadian participation in such "police actions" as Korea. Other sections have been attacked by the organized labor movement as making it possible to deprive labor of the right to strike.

The tragic death of E. H. Norman at the hands of a US senatorial committee points up the need to launch an all-out drive against red-baiting and witch-hunting whatever its source, and to wipe out the witch-hunt legislation now on the books!

Workers Vanguard #18 May 1957

May 1-7

BOSS PARTIES HUM OLD TUNE

May '57

By ROSS DOWSON

The federal election campaign is underway. Two of the four major parties, The Progressive Conservative Party and Social Credit, launched their national appeals with hoopla and demagogy in Massey Hall, Toronto. St. Laurent opened up the Liberal campaign with a cross-Canada tour commencing at Winnipeg. The CCF campaign is only now getting underway.

The Liberal machine, with 22 years of power under its belt, hopes to ride back into office on the crest of an economic boom that is based on military preparations and US investments. Corporation profits soar. Real wages drop as the cost of living hits new peaks. Consumer debt piles up and housing moves further from the reach of the working people. Despite all talk, social security expenditures are only one-fifth of one per cent above pre-war expenditures, then 10.8 per cent of the national income. But according to Liberal campaigner Senator Croll, "There really isn't any political issue."

The Liberals are making no promises, says St. Laurent, but "to do our best— and to do our best means to get on with the job of increasing opportunity in all parts of Canada for Canadians."

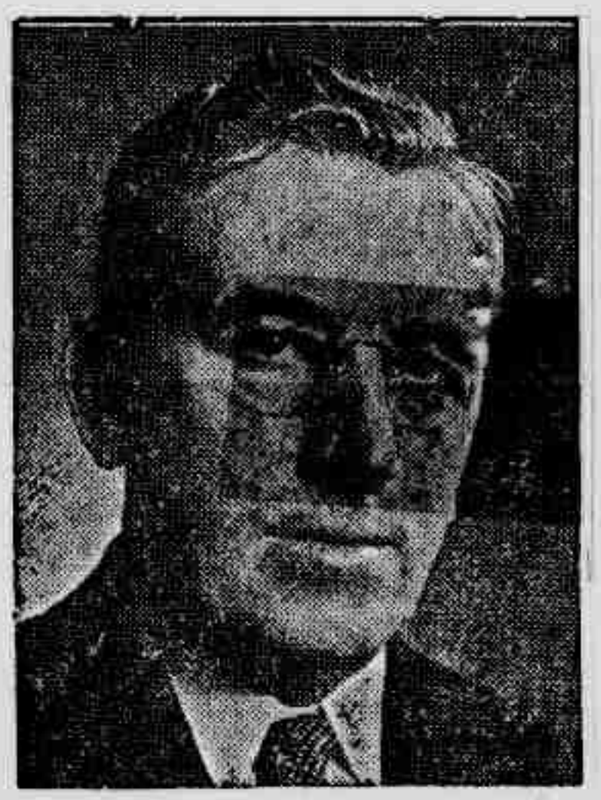
Headed by John Diefenbaker, the Tories are attempting to cash in on the Liberals' arrogant use of their big majority in the last federal house. Cut out of the juiciest plums that lie in federal office, Tory leader Leslie Frost, in office in Ontario, presents the differences between Liberals and Tories, as "the idea of centralization as opposed to the idea of balanced government."

Their spokesmen attack the Liberals for their craven handling of the case of Herbert Norman, witch-hunted to his death by a US Senatorial Committee — but the Tory Ontario Provincial Secretary Hon. George Dunbar and MPP Robert Macaulay, witch-hunt the CCF and a prominent leader of the Canadian Labor Congress.

They promise, if in federal office, to ease off the crushing Liberal tax burden. They rail against the fact that "a few of the more anointed of the government reaped profits in the millions" through the Trans-Canada Pipeline scandal. But their Ontario government thrusts the tax burden on the working people and clears the way for THEIR anointed to clean up millions from the timber and mineral resources of that province.

Social Credit is making a bid to move out from its strongholds in British Columbia and Alberta, to increase its weight in the federal house and to challenge the Liberals and Tories as the spokesmen of Big Business. With a sweeping series of reform demands it is making a strong bid to cut into the western strength of the CCF. It has dumped its inflationary "funny money" schemes and is busy dissociating itself from its quasi-fascist supporters to appear, on the basis of the Alberta oil boom and the natural resources give-away expansion in BC, as a responsible business man's administration. Echoing the Liberals, they cry — "where there's Social Credit there's expansion."

On the crucial issue of the role the vast resources of this country, built up by its working people, and the influence of the peoples themselves are to play in the world



M. J. COLDWELL

political arena — all three parties see eye to eye. The Liberals, Tories and Social Credit align Canada with reactionary and discredited dictators, with ominous military alliances, with threatening H-Bomb tests and H-Bomb warfare preparations, everywhere against the freedom struggles of the colonial peoples behind the imperialist interests of Canadian capitalism in alliance with American and British imperialism.

The people of Canada will support these parties at their peril. These are capitalist parties—they are parties of depression and H-Bomb destruction.

The CCF campaign is endorsed by the leadership of the trade union movement—in many areas it is headed up by unionists and based on the trade union apparatus. The CCF leadership, in collusion with the trade union bureaucracy, having turned the movement into a pressure group programmatically, through the dumping of the Regina Manifesto and the adoption of the liberal-reformist Winnipeg Manifesto, are transforming it into a pressure group organizationally. Official policy is not to appear before the electorate as an alternative government to the Liberals but to concentrate efforts where they "can get results"—in Ontario—it has been announced that the CCF will place candidates in only 60 of the 85 ridings.

After jockeying with Tory provincial governments, St. Laurent, through the passage of a hospital insurance plan, operative in 1949, has attempted to take the steam out of the CCF demand for a national health insurance plan. The Liberals' miserable pre-election $6 increase to old age, blind and disabled pensioners, which doesn't even restore the value of the 1950 pension, is an attempt to place the CCF in the position of saying the Liberals do good but we would do better. Coldwell is campaigning from the ineffectual position that the CCF has pioneered the advances legislated by the Liberal Party in office.

As CCF MP Colin Cameron told the BC CCF convention, the CCF group in the house of commons is in general agreement with Liberal government foreign policy. The

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ELECTIONS ✓

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CCF also agrees with the Liberal stand that the Herbert Norman suicide case should not be made an election issue.

Failure of the CCF leadership to present the movement as a dynamic alternative to the boss parties not only destroys the constituency organizations, transforming the movement into an electoral machine, but can result in the loss of seats already CCF. A further electoral decline of the movement can set independent labor political action in Canada back.

Labor must challenge the boss parties not just for increased influence but for control of the federal house—not just for control of Canadian economy but to assure that its peoples are aligned with the great forces of revolutionary change that are sweeping across the world.

But regardless of its inadequate program, and its individual candidates, the CCF in this election continues to represent a fundamental break from the traditional parties of Big Business and should have the support—the critical support—of the Canadian workers and poor farmers.

WV #18 May '57 Editorials

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Not Racket Ridden But MAY 57

The Canadian Labor Congress gave short shrift to the suggestion, following the US Senatorial investigation into Dave Beck and the Teamster's Union, that there be a government investigation into the affairs of Canadian labor.

Cleve Kidd, president of the Ontario Federation of Labor, condemned the suggestion as slander by innuendo. Claude Jodoin, president of the Canadian Labor Congress, vigorously replied that the Canadian labor movement is quite capable of looking after its own affairs. Quite correctly they have declared: Hands off labor! If there is any racketeering in the Canadian labor movement, labor itself will look after it!

The fact is, the Canadian labor movement is not racket ridden. The top leadership punishes misappropriation of union funds and does not condone outright pay-offs or bribery. But that does not mean to say that Canadian unions are not corrupt.

The unions were built in struggle with the employers, to defend the interests of the workers, to eliminate nepotism and discrimination on the job, to win higher wages and better conditions. The leaders came out of the ranks and policy was determined in the rough and tumble struggle of opposition groups formed in the ranks.

But the leaders of Canadian labor gave up long ago, and some of them never ever held to the idea, we must admit, that the unions are instruments for the protection of the exploited. They look upon them as instruments for their own comfort and pleasure.

The union ranks encounter this corruption when they find the leadership urging acceptance of a contract for which there is no justification, when the leadership proves unwilling to service the contract, and when they counsel silence to violations of the contract—when they red-bait and manipulate the democratic processes of the locals against opposition in the ranks.

Having contracted the disease they spread it to the ranks when they preach, as UAW Local 200 President Charles MacDonald did recently, that "Our biggest goal is to build mutual trust with the company."

This, of course, is the type of corruption that the bosses and their political stooges will never investigate. Their investigations of gangsterism are designed to prepare the ground for anti-labor legislation. But an investigation of corruption that turns unions from fighting instruments of the workers into a meal ticket for one-time militants and Johnny-come-lately's would not lead anywhere they want to go. The source of this corruption is the employers themselves and their day by day attempts to buy off potential militants and to transform the unions into company unions.

There is only one force that can clear this type of corruption from the unions—that is the rank and file galvanized around a fighting program and a new leadership to carry it out.

Our Cultural Benefactors MAY 57

The Canadian Council has held its first meeting. A momentous occasion, the council is pioneering another field for Canada, pushing back the cultural frontier, said its chairman, Brooke Claxton.

With 100 million dollars in the bank, the assembled cultural frontiersmen, everyone of them named by those "culture vultures" in the St. Laurent cabinet, met to map out the campaign to bring enlightenment to the great unwashed inhabiting the valleys and plains stretching out beyond the Ottawa frontier.

A hardy crew—this council. It numbers in its ranks millionaire distillery owner Samuel Bronfman; millionaire brewer, financier, and race horse owner E. P. Taylor; a major-general by name of George Vanier, and a movie chain president Leonard Brockington. Somehow a knighted former dean of the music faculty of the University of Toronto and a director of the National Ballet Guild and Opera Festival Association happened to get on. But don't be alarmed. All appointees were considered equally suitable, explained Prime Minister St. Laurent. When it came to determine the length of appointments their names were arranged alphabetically and were struck off that way.

The chairman's, Mr. Claxton's qualifications, are legion. At present, vice-president of the sprawling financial octopus the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, he was minister of health at Ottawa from 1944 to 1946 and minister of defence from 1946 to 1954. In the latter position he played no small role in the "police action" which took Canadian culture to the shores of benighted Korea in support of Mr. Singman Rhee. He is an author—of a history of the 10th Canadian Siege Battery with which he served as a sergeant-major in the First World War.

A protest has gone up that the council should be more broadly representative of our diverse population. But after all, among us 16 million Canadians there are a few financial tycoons, movie chain owners and distillery owners. A minority, you say. But as John A. MacDonald quipped when he appointed the Senate to lord over the house of commons, the rich are always a minority and the rights of a minority have to be protected!

What? No farmer! What? No worker on the council? What do you want to do? Corrupt them?

FOR CCF GOVERNMENTS IN THE PROVINCES AND IN OTTAWA

The Workers Vanguard

Vol. II, No. 7 (19)—June, 1957 — 23 — Toronto—Price 5 cents

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STOP H BOMB TESTS AID COLONIAL PEOPLE

Socialist Educational League Electoral Statement, 1957

The key issue, a life and death issue, confronting the Canadian people is the question of war or peace—symbolized by that awesome instrument of destruction—the H Bomb.

Not only H Bomb war, towards which capitalism is hurtling the world, but continued thermo-nuclear tests threaten humanity with disaster. The danger from radioactive fall-out from H Bomb test explosions which threatens those living and generations yet unborn, has roused the peoples of Europe and Asia in a mighty movement of protest. Persons of international renown and of unimpeachable integrity such as Dr. Albert Schweitzer have appealed for a cessation of the tests. Nineteen of the world's top atomic physicists have announced their refusal to have anything to do with the atomic armament of West German military forces.

What is Canada's role—Canada which, the Liberals like to boast, as did the Hon. Paul Martin to electors in St. Andrews, N.B.—is a key factor in the equation of world peace. What Canada's role has been, and what it will be should the Liberals be returned to office on June 10th, was made quite clear by Foreign Affairs Minister Lester B. Pearson to a Penticton meeting. "Canada opposes a ban on H tests without adequate safeguards." At Medicine Hat he hailed the H Bomb as a great but short term deterrent. The Progressive Conservative party and Social Credit are in agreement with the perilous policy of the Liberals.

The spokesmen of the CCF have not made the issue of the H Bomb and H Bomb tests a ringing challenge to the electorate. They have not clearly and firmly denounced their opponent's suicidal support of further H Bomb tests.

Inserted, hidden along with proposals of a modest character with regard to secondary and tertiary problems confronting the Canadian people, they touch on the matter Mr. Coldwell has cautiously called upon the government to ask the great powers to stop the tests, to obtain a moratorium, "at least until a UN Committee can determine the true degree of danger" as if there were any grounds to doubt the grave dangers. When what is needed is a clear and unequivocal call for no more H Bomb explosions—a mobilizing of the Canadian people with the rising anti-war forces of the world's peoples.

In Northern Ontario, in the Blind River-Elliot Lake area, the Canadian people control one of the world's most important concentrations of uranium. At the Chalk River development key material for British and US atomic weapon manufacture are prepared. Both projects are controlled by crown corporations.

A workers' and farmers' government would immediately ban production and shipment of all materials that could be used for any other purpose than the peaceful development of atomic energy in the interests of humanity.

Nationalize the war industries and place them under workers' control!

Against Wall Street and the Kremlin

How should the great wealth developed by our peoples from the natural resources of this continent, how should our industrial and agricultural wealth, technique, and know-how, our capacity to destroy and our capacity to create, our moral and our material weight, be utilized in world politics?

Canada's policy, the policy of the Liberal government, as summed up by External Affairs Minister Pearson at Strathroy, is to "keep in step with both the United Kingdom and the United States." The one, a declining imperialist power that is desperately attempting to retain its exploitative positions across the globe — the other, an imperialist power that straddles the world with military bases and has become the prop, the mainstay of reaction everywhere.

"More and more this country is being called upon to help restore the balance of peace in critical areas of tension and conflict," boasted the Hon. Paul Martin to an audience at St. Andrews. The minister of health specified these areas—Korea, Indo China and the Middle East.

Without consultation of the Canadian people and against the known opposition of the people, Canadian troops were sent into Korea. They were used by the St. Laurent government to prop up the discredited dictator, Syngman Rhee. Canadian truce mediators supervise the truncation of Indo China. There, Canada acts as a policeman, enforcing a settlement arrived at in Geneva by Molotov, Dulles and Mendes France, without consultation of and against the interests of the people of that land.

In the Middle East, Canada acted as the apologist and face-saver of British imperialism whose desperate aggression against the Egyptian peoples threatened to tear India, Pakistan and Ceylon out of the Commonwealth and to bring down Eden's Tory government at the hands of a roused labor movement.

The Canadian people want an independent foreign policy. They want to play a role that is determined neither by the needs of American imperialism, the needs of British imperialism, nor for that matter Canadian imperialist interests such as Alcoa, Barcelona Light Heat and Traction or Brazilian Traction.

The Canadian people want a foreign policy that solidarizes them with the great liberating struggles that are unfolding everywhere: in Hungary, Poland and in the Soviet Union itself, where the workers,

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PROGRAM FOR LABOR

(Continued from page 1)

In struggle against the bureaucracy, are moving out to establish workers' democracy on the foundations of the planned economy—in Asia, Africa and South America where the people are in struggle against imperialism and its native agents — in Europe, in England where the workers are on the verge of leaping forward again to take the power into their own hands.

In December, 1955, to two different audiences in Assiniboia, CCF leaders T. C. Douglas and Hazen Argue urged that the over 1.7 billion dollars a year now being spent on instruments of death and destruction be cut by 25 per cent. They urged that this money be utilized to purchase wheat from the surpluses that have piled up in the West to "be shipped to the hungry people of the world."

Today, on the verge of a federal election, the CCF leadership does not demark itself in any way from the policies of the Liberals, Progressive Conservatives or Social Credit which identify Canada with counter - revolution everywhere. Those CCF MPs who voted for the rearmament of the enemies of the German workers are unrepentant. The CCF parliamentary leadership ignored rank and file opposition to the Marshall Plan and NATO. It continues to support these aggressive military alliances, although their foreign aid clauses remain scraps of paper and they ally Canada, through subsidiary pacts and agreements, with feudal princes, fascist dictators, reactionaries of all types across the globe.

The demand for a 25 per cent cut in military appropriations to go to relieve poverty and hunger in the undeveloped sections of the globe is what the CCF should be broadcasting at this time. For an end to secret pacts and commitments! Terminate all agreements that station US troops on Canadian soil. Withdraw all Canadian troops from Germany and the Suez area!

Recognize the government of revolutionary China! End all trade restrictions against anti-imperialist countries!

No confidence in the UN which the record shows is nothing but a pawn of the big powers! Take the war-making powers out of the hands of Ottawa! Let the people vote—for a national referendum on the question of war and peace!

Defend Civil Rights

There is tacit agreement by the opposition with St. Laurent's comment that there has already been "too much said" on the case of E. Herbert Norman. But the "assassination by slander" of Canada's ambassador to Egypt at the hands of a US Senatorial committee spotlights one of the key issues in this election—civil rights.

The RCMP has been exposed as operating as a Gestapo-like, extra legal, secret police. And as if this were not bad enough, the dossiers that it maintains on an unspecified number of Canadians containing information from informers and stool pigeons which has no foundation in fact, are accessible to the FBI, and, it turns out, to private citizens of the government's choice.

Saskatchewan Premier T. C. Douglas' challenge, in the debate at Mossbank with renegade Ross Thatcher, that he produce a confidential RCMP file on a CCF MP in his possession, and that the minister of justice gives confidential police reports to Liberal campaigners, has gone unanswered. So too has CCF MP Harold Winch's challenge in the closing days of the house that Garson produce the RCMP file that has been used against him and answer whether files are kept on members of parliament.

At first the government itself was shocked that the first victim ambassador to Egypt E. H. Norman, should be a faithful civil servant, but it continues with its Gestapo-like policies. The CCF remains silent on this matter, not only at its own peril but the peril of the entire labor movement against which the witch hunt is primarily directed.

It is not a matter of inaccurate dossiers, or their "improper" use, but the whole extra-legal action of the RCMP.-An end to government loyalty screen legislation and boards that govern employment in the civil service and so-called sensitive jobs in industry! No government interference in the unions! No more compulsory arbitration for the railwaymen or any other union! Wipe out the revisions to the Criminal Code that could deprive organized labor of the right to strike! An end to all restrictions on the right to organize, strike and picket! For a Bill of Rights!

Tax The Wealthy!

The Liberals in federal government, the Tories and Social Credit in provincial government, have thrust the burden of taxation on the working people—through hidden taxes, sales taxes on the necessities of life, the old age security tax, an income tax structure which compels a single worker to pay tax on less than $20 a week, etc. Tax the rich! No tax on incomes of less than $5,000 a year! Repeal all sales taxes, abolish all hidden taxes! A 100 per cent tax on all income over $25,000 — 100 per cent tax on all profits on war goods.

Housing

For a national housing program to subsidize the erection of a million low-rental housing units! Mortgage money at 2 per cent! Federal aid for the building of schools, hospitals and other public needs—financed from funds now going to armament expenditures.

30 For 40

For a shorter work week — 30 hours for 40 hours pay—to meet the effects of automation. Unemployment insurance at full union rates for the entire period of unemployment! Through plant runaways, decentralization and production cut-backs, workers and families in such communities as Windsor face a perilous future. These facilities should be taken over by the government and operated under workers' control.

C. D. HOWE

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JUNE '57

Socialism Is The Issue

Support all the reforms—on farm policy, on old age pensions, for a national health plan — being advocated by the CCF. But support them as steps forward to a better world!

Socialism is the issue in this election! Not "fair shares," not "Share Canada's Wealth" as headlined in CCF campaign literature. It's not a matter of achieving a more equitable distribution of the goods created by labor and appropriated by capital; not a matter of establishing a new ethic or morality on top of venal present day society or of adding a few patches to it here and there.

The task is to mark up some progress on the march to a totally new, a modern, an atomic age society—socialism, a society where the threat of war, or depression as an alternative, will be eliminated for all time.

Mankind stands on the threshold of a new era in which human culture can rise to unprecedented heights. Giant leaps in technology have made it possible to produce enough to meet all the needs of all the people. Across the path, barring the way, stands capitalism—arms in hand—attempting to block the mounting tide of colonial revolution which is moving towards fusion with the working class struggles against capitalism — threatening the world with economic crisis and the death-dealing horrors of the hydrogen bomb.

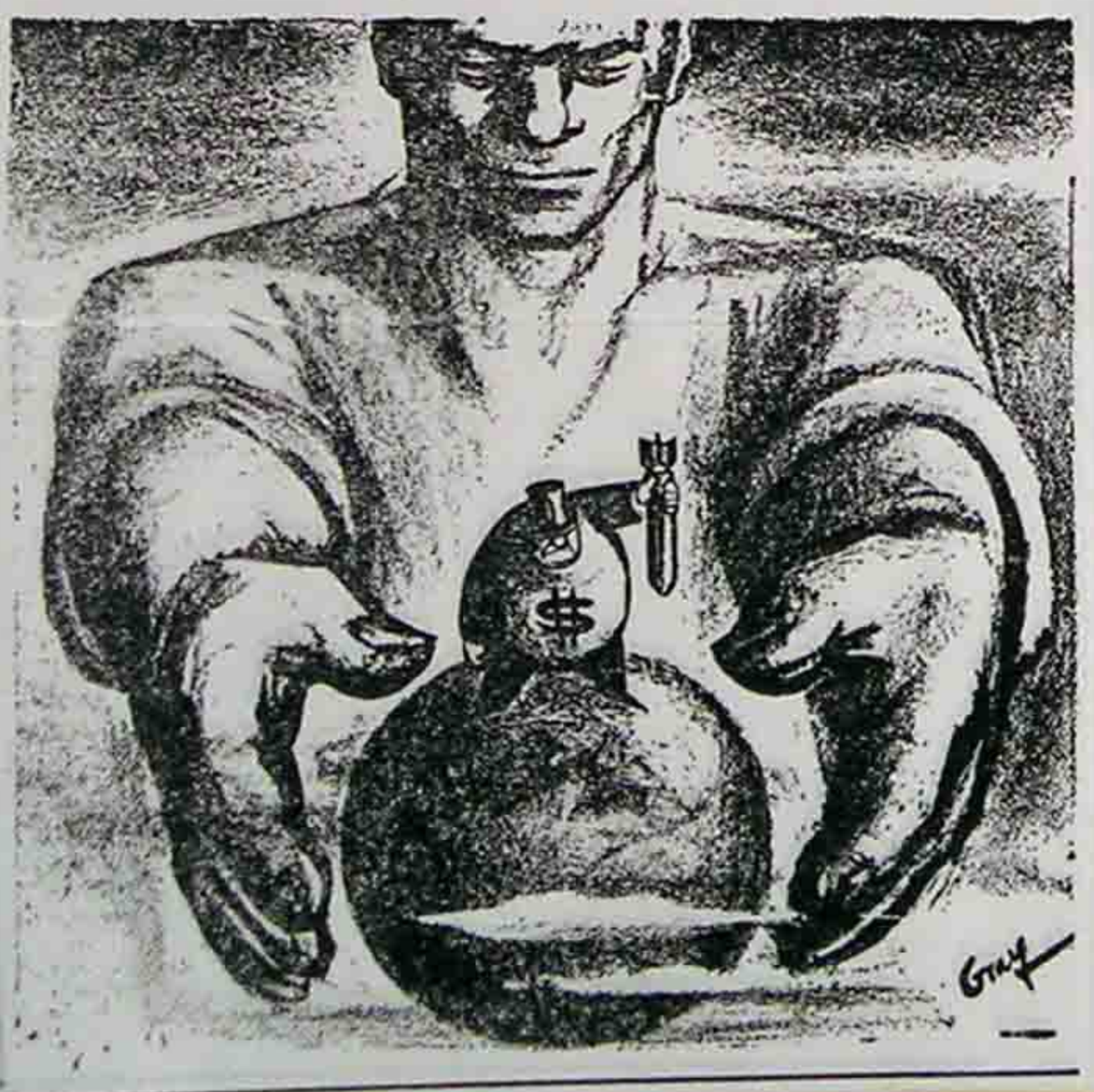
The power of the capitalist class which bars the way to this glorious future lies in its ownership of the means of production and its control of all the organs of state power through its parties, the Liberals, Tories and Social Credit. In order to build the new society the parties of Big Business must be driven from office and a workers' and farmers' government established.

The main task confronting such a government is to lay down the economic foundations upon which the new society can be built. Its responsibility will not be "to provide increased opportunity and security for private business as well as publicly owned business" as spelled out by the manifesto that was foisted on the CCF by the leadership at Winnipeg last year.

The task will be to nationalize the basic means of production, the banks, food trusts and all the natural resources, and to operate these facilities in the interests of the producers and consumers through democratically elected committees of workers and technicians. It will institute a system of planned economy, production for use: it will eliminate the exploitation of man by man.

Vote CCF! Vote against the parties of Big Business. Support this program and aid the Socialist Educational League in its promotion towards the establishment of a socialist Canada in a socialist world of peace and plenty!

A Workers' World — or None!



Editorial

Salsberg Abandons LPP Issues Public Statement

We reproduce below the complete text of a statement released by four former leaders of the Labor Progressive Party. Their resignation from the LPP follows on the heels of a national convention of that party where the Buck leadership prevailed. We will comment on the evolution of this group in future issues of THE VANGUARD.

TORONTO, Ont., May 16 — Four prominent Canadian Communists today announced their resignation from membership in the Labor-Progressive Party. The four are:

J. B. SALSBERG, former LPP member of the Ontario legislature; for many years a member of the National Executive of the LPP, and one of its best known public spokesmen.

STEWART SMITH, former controller in the city of Toronto, Ontario leader of the LPP and a member of the highest body of that party for over three decades.

HARRY BINDER, former national treasurer of the LPP, for many years a member of its national executive and its organizer in the Province of Quebec.

SAM LIPSHITZ, until recently a member of the LPP National Committee, for 18 years the secretary of its National Jewish Committee; a former editor of the Canadian Jewish Weekly and staff member of the Canadian Tribune.

In announcing their resignations, the four have also issued the following statement:

"Since our early youth, each one of us has dedicated himself to the cause of the working class. Inspired by the vision of a new and better world — free from exploitation of man by man—each one of us has contributed to the best of his ability to make this vision a reality in our country. To this great ideal we remain dedicated as we were until now.

"The victory over fascism in the Second World War brought into being new world relationships. Not only did the Soviet Union emerge as one of the two greatest world powers, but a whole number of countries, with China in the first place, embarked on the path of Socialism. In addition, hundreds of millions of colonial peoples have achieved national independence, and have begun to play a positive progressive role in international relations. Our country, too, has

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FOR CCF GOVERNMENTS IN THE PROVIN

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SALSBERG . . .

(Continued from page 1)

made unparalleled advances and Canadian labor has gained new strength and unity.

"These historic changes in the world and in Canada demand new thinking and new alignments for progress and for a democratic Socialist future based on the specific conditions and historic background of each country.

"The need for new approaches was underscored with particular force by the shocking revelations of the terrible crimes and injustices that had been committed in the Soviet Union under the Stalin regime and in other countries under its influence, which constituted a complete distortion and violation of the very concepts of Socialism.

"We together with many others in the Labor-Progressive Party, carried on a struggle, particularly during the last 12 months for such necessary changes. But our proposals were rejected by the Tim Buck majority. The proceedings at the Sixth National Convention and at the recent Metro Toronto convention of the LPP have convinced us that under its present leadership and with its present policies, the LPP is unwilling to make a break with its deeply-rooted sectarianism and Stalinist methods of work and thinking. The continued uncritical acceptance by the LPP of all policies and pronouncements of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as the last, final and undisputable law of Marxism, the one-sided Stalinist attitude towards such explosive events as those that took place in Poland and Hungary last year, the refusal of the LPP leadership to raise its voice in protest against the unjust, anti-Socialist actions of the Soviet leadership towards Jewish culture, Jewish social-cultural institutions and those of other nationalities — all these demonstrate the LPP leadership's lack of independent thinking, without which any Socialist working class party dooms itself to ideological sterility, political ineffectiveness and decline.

"We, for our part, will not approve of, nor associate ourselves with policies, which are in conflict with the present and future interests of the Canadian working people, and with the cause of Socialism in this country.

"It is our opinion, that the historically-necessary task of regrouping the Socialist forces in this country has to be undertaken. This is not an organizational task in the first place, but a political one, an educational one. What is now crystal clear, however, is that the LPP cannot and will not perform this task. Those who genuinely seek a Canadian path towards a democratic socialist future have no alternative but to find new paths, seek new alliances, help create a new, fraternal atmosphere in the Canadian labor movement, to speed the process of healing the splits of the past and thus pave the way for a Canadian path to democratic socialism."

Workers' Vanguard #19 June 1957

FIREMEN UPSET COUNCIL-MAYOR HOLIDAYS

By ROSS DOWSON
Socialist Eduucational League
Candidate for Mayor of Toronto
JUNE 57 1957

Toronto's Tory, Toronto's "social mayor" Nathan Phillips is off again—this time for a six weeks holiday in Europe. In December during the squabble over the police administration he was off to Bermuda. In February he was off to Florida. Now the board of control, smarting under the council's repudiation of its scandalous handling of the 1956 contract negotiations with the firemen, has tossed the 1957 negotiations into the laps of council. Alderman Dennison has challenged the board to negotiate or resign and the mayor is getting out from under the situation by heading for Europe.

DOWSON

The board has just come through the humiliating experience of having the council, under the pressure of a packed gallery of firemen and other unionists, reject its recommendation that the city repudiate a unanimous arbitration board's award by taking it to the courts. The arbitration award, reluctantly accepted by the council on a 12 to 11 vote, granted the firemen a 42-hour week—bringing about the addition of 264 men to the staff.

Labor-endorsed Controller Ford Brand, and former CCF leader and labor lawyer Alderman Herbert Orliffe, treacherously took the lead in trying to get this anti-labor administration out from under recognizing its commitments to the firemen's union. Early in May, Orliffe got the council off the hook by coming in with a last-minute proposal that the council take the firemen through a second round of arbitration. The firemen rebuffed this trick much to the surprise of the mayor. "I didn't expect any trouble, the motion having come from Alderman Orliffe, a well known labor expert," he remarked with chagrin.

Brand took a vigorous stand in favor of taking the union to court as "the only alternative." Shortly after his re-election to office he told the Optimist Club that five years on the board had mellowed his views. "The best thing that can happen to a union business agent," he said, "is to be elected to city council . . . it makes you realize that there are two sides to the picture in negotiations." Brand saw one side in these negotiations —and not the side of labor.

Defending himself from the subsequent criticisms of disgruntled members of the board, Mayor Phillips pointed out that "this is the first time council has disagreed and perhaps there were special circumstances." Brand chipped in that the special circumstances were the unionists who packed the gallery. He bitterly criticized a provincial act requiring municipalities to provide sufficient funds in their budget to cover the cost of fire protection. "You can't plead inability to pay," he complained. "How can you take a bargaining position."

Toronto's housing crisis, which the administration has done little or nothing about, was tragically brought home last month by the burning to death of the entire family of a widow who works two jobs to provide for her children. Last February the board assured a deputation from the Riverdale District Association of the Neighborhood Workers that it would seek establishment of a special housing court to deal with infractions of building and standard-of-housing by-laws and the appointment of a special prosecutor to act in the case.

After hearing a brief that detailed well known facts on the appalling living conditions in the Riverdale area, the Mayor, who is also chief magistrate, tried to pass the failure of his administration to enforce the by-laws onto the "benevolent attitude adopted towards the defendants by the courts." Nothing has been heard of this court or prosecutor.

Now Housing Authority vice-chairman William Dies has revealed that the Regent Park South slum clearance project "is going to eliminate the people who we are trying to help." Regent Park South will not accept occupants with an income of less than $1,800, which will rule out families living on Mothers Allowances and other assistance the city takes into Regent Park North. Rents will be higher in Regent Park South as all income will be counted when reckoning them. In the North project, family allowances are not computed and only $10 a week is counted from the income of a wife

Controller Jean Newman insisted that Regent Park South was a better deal — because nothing was added to city debentures. The same money-grabbing from the poorest citizens by the administration was demonstrated when Metro Welfare Committee announced that $5 of the recent $6 boost in old age pensions received by elderly persons getting assistance from the Welfare Department must be turned over to the committee.

The board screams poverty to the firemen and their families and when it comes to deals on slum clearance and to welfare cases. But it has funds for other purposes. For instance, when confronted with a Parking Authority plan to spend $65,000 on two properties covering space needed for a garage, the controllers speculated about the money they spend on parking space for cars and on parking space for people—housing.

Mayor Phillips commented: "But the car parks are self sustaining."

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JUNE '57

The Problem . . . and the Answer!

Claude Jodoin, president of the Canadian Labor Congress, addressing the General Board meeting of the CLC, stated that the biggest challenge facing labor is the problem of organizing the millions of unorganized workers.

Organizational Director MacKenzie pointed out that there are 2½ million potential union members today in Canada. He went on to further stress the big job of organizing the unorganized by pointing out that even in such cities as Toronto, Montreal, Winnipeg and Vancouver, only between 20 and 30 per cent of the workers are organized.

After outlining the magnitude of the task that confronts organized labor, MacKenzie was forced to admit that recent organizing has done little more than keep pace with the increase in the labor force. In other words, although workers are being organized, no progress is being made towards seriously cutting down the terrific backlog of unorganized workers in Canada.

How to explain this? Donald Macdonald, CLC secretary-treasurer, talked about the need to re-inspire the labor movement. He pointed out how the labor movement had been built by men and women who sacrificed their time and energy and worked under the most difficult conditions.

We can agree with Mr. Macdonald that the labor movement needs to be re-inspired but we would also like to point out that inspiration must come from somewhere. It must come from great ideas which reflect labor's real interests; it must come from the men who make these ideas part of themselves and vigorously fight for them.

Yes, the leadership, by its example and policies, has a vital role to play in inspiring the rank and file to move forward and win new victories for labor by organizing the unorganized. A leadership that preaches class peace, when 1000 times a day, every day, this lie is exposed, is not a source of inspiration but rather a source of apathy and corruption.

Such a leadership must be replaced by a new leadership that will vigorously fight against the bosses. Not win their praise as Jodoin and Co. won the praise of St. Laurent for the sell-out of the railway strike and the civil service workers. The task today for all socialists and trade union militants is to begin the building of a new leadership that really fights for the class interests of the working people.

Such a leadership will not only expand existing unions and create new ones but will carry the idea of the incomparable strength and capacity of the working class to its logical conclusion—the re-organization of society on a planned basis.

June '57

...s This Prediction a Program?

A prediction was voiced in Toronto last week by CCF leader T. C. Douglas, the premier of the only province in which the CCF holds office. In spite of the heightened enthusiasm of a pre-election atmosphere it was no glowing prediction that the organized might of the Canadian working class must inevitably drive the boss parties together in desparation. That we would revert to the two-party system with the concentrated forces of capital aligned on one side—on the other—the mobilized forces of labor advancing to power.

It was no appeal to those workers who still support the Liberals and Tories to break once and for all from company-union politics and organize within their own class party.

No, the Saskatchewan premier sees a different road ahead—a return to the two-party system, it is true, but one in which right wing Liberals, Tories and Social Crediters would line up against a left wing party "made up of organized labor, farm organizations, CCF and left wing elements from the old-line parties."

Douglas' views are shared by none other than CCF MP Colin Cameron, who is looked upon by some as a left winger. Cameron predicts as inevitable the future realignment of political forces in Canada, also hinting that a new party will crystallize around a left wing split-off of the present Liberal Party.

But just who are these left wing elements in the old parties, anyway? No names are mentioned. Perhaps Douglas or Cameron have in mind the "progressive" Senator Croll, who was not so progressive in his cringing support for the pipeline sellout and who only last week lauded millionaire C. D. Howe as the "finest business head in the country." Perhaps they have in mind the "impartial" statesman, the Hon. Lester Pearson, whose praises have lately been sung far and wide as the man who saved Britain's reputation in her desperate attack on the Egyptian people.

Douglas' prediction is not a reflection of any crisis in the Liberal Party but of a deep crisis within the CCF leadership. These leaders are moving in the direction of political bankruptcy, the direction already taken by Ross Thatcher, Emil Lefebvre, and George Mooney, once leading CCFers, presently running for the Liberals and Tories.

Douglas-style regroupment or unity with any sections of the boss parties can only be regroupment based on the further "respectability" of the CCF and with it further adaptation to, in fact complete acceptance of, the reactionary policies of these parties. In the end it would mean the disappearance of the CCF as a class party of the Canadian workers into the Liberal Party or some new boss party formation. It would be a blow to the principle of independent labor political action in Canada.

Workers' Vanguard #20 July 1957

PROTEST VOTE BY-PASSES CCF
WHICH WAY LABOR POLITICS?

July '57

A CONTRIBUTION BY P. KENT

The editor of the Saskatchewan COMMONWEALTH (June 19 issue) hails the federal election results as having placed the CCF "in the strongest position it has ever enjoyed." The CCF parliamentary caucus, meeting in Winnipeg on June 26, in a release to the press stated; "The CCF believes that the result of the next election may well be the beginning of a new and rational political alignment in Canada from which will emerge two parties; one the mouthpiece of big business and the other the CCF—continuing to be the voice of the ordinary citizen."

The bases for this rosy evaluation and prediction are (1) the fact that with 25 seats, the CCF has two more in the 265-seat house than it had before, (2) the fact that the massive protest movement which swept the flagging forces of the Tories into office and dealt staggering blows to the Liberal machine, placed the CCF in a balance of power position between the two capitalist parties, (3) the assumption that the Liberal party is in a crisis—a crisis which will lead to a new political alignment in Canadian politics. The Liberals breaking in two—its unnamed progressives linking up with the CCF, and its diehards joining the Tories.

NEED THE TRUTH

It would, of course, be a happy situation if we could honestly record the results of the last election as a stride forward towards a sharp and clear counterposing of class forces in Canadian politics. The future is certainly on the side of independent labor political action and the establishment of a workers and farmers government. But to intelligently participate, to guarantee the future, we need no drugs to lull us into a sense of well being and security. On the contrary we need to know the truth to prepare for the problems ahead.

What should be the most powerful basis for optimism was the massive protest vote that this election recorded—a development unforeseen by anyone, including its Tory recipients. Coming as it did in a time of relative prosperity and economic stability it demonstrates the capacity of the Canadian people to move at a most revolutionary pace. But all Ontario Federation of Labor President Cleve Kidd sees in this is that "People don't vote for anything. They vote against it. That is a dreadful comment on human behavior."

BANKRUPTCY OF POLICIES

Significantly this massive protest by Canadians who "never had it so good" did not register itself behind the CCF. For well over a decade the CCF leadership has been trimming and hacking away at the party's program, expelling its socialist opponents, flagrantly defying convention decisions, making the party respectable to win the protest vote. The protest vote came along but it saw no reason to vote CCF; it voted Progressive Conservative. This is indeed a staggering blow to the leadership of the CCF—putting the stamp of political bankruptcy on their policies.

Despite the winning of two more seats and the stability of its vote, this election marks a further decline of the CCF—a decline in the composition of its support, and in its strategical position in Canadian politics.

The Commonwealth's lead article reports the Moose Jaw-Lake Center seat as a CCF gain although this constituency had elected Thatcher as a CCFer prior to his going over to the Liberals. Actually the CCF only retained this seat, and whereas it beat the Tories in 1953 by 8,000 votes, this election the seat was held by a mere 117 votes. The Tories took the CCF Saskatoon seat, where they had previously trailed by 7,395 votes, with a majority of 500. The CCF vote in Saskatchewan dropped from 42.6 per cent to 36 per cent, the lowest level since its rise in Saskatchewan. The drop was most precipitous in the urban areas.

The Political Action Committee report to the Toronto Labor Council seeks solace in very "good thirds" and "good seconds" scored in Toronto and Yorks, but fails to record the percentage decline from 21 to 16 per cent in the Toronto area.

Back in 1948 the CCF started to break out of its isolation in the agrarian West to make inroads in the industrial concentrations of the East. It has lost this impetus. It lost Glace Bay and South York and is once again a Western party with support in Northern Ontario, an agrarian party, a party with a rural base.

The Liberal machine was dealt heavy blows in this election but we are unaware of any crisis in the Liberal ranks. This election rather, is a debacle for the CCF. Up until this election the CCF was able to appear as the national viable alternative to the Liberal party. Everywhere except in Nova Scotia the Tories were in decline. Even in Ontario the previous federal election registered a trend to the Liberals in old Tory Toronto strongholds. In the West, Social Credit was vigorously moving forward. Now Social Credit has been stopped in its tracks — the Tory machine is recouping in province after province. From a declining force it is the government, presenting itself as the only really national party. Instead of being the Liberals' main contenders for office the CCF now appears as the third party in the struggle.

It does not seem reasonable to even expect a crisis in the ranks of the Liberals in the period ahead. An election in the next few months would probably register the switch back of the protest vote which did not want to see the Tories in office, and a return of the Liberals with a much reduced, but workable majority; or the vote continuing to go Tory to give them a working majority so that it can be seen what they will do.

And what about the "strongest position" the strategic situation, the balance of power the CCF now holds between the two capitalist parties? The Tories, with the economy still riding a boom, are certain to grant some reform legislation. They are not going to legislate anything that would identify them as the hard-bitten, hold-that-line Tories of the R. B. Bennett-George Drew mold. They are not going to play into the hands of the Liberals who themselves will be taking on the mask of reform. On top of this the CCF parliamentary caucus, according to the record, is not at all prone to press for anything that the Tories, facing an election, would out of hand reject.

UNDER RIGHT PRESSURE

The party most subject to stress and strain, the party in crisis, will not be the Liberal Party, it will be no other party than the CCF. While the failure of the opportunistic policies of the leadership to win votes vindicates the socialist opposition, the prevailing pressures will push the leadership further to the right.

That section of the trade union bureaucracy which has identified itself with the CCF, now that the possibilities of a CCF government have receded further away, are going to be under increasing pressure from the rest of the bureaucracy, and pressure to have amicable relations, to do "business" with governments in office.

Already the Big Business propaganda machine is grinding out arguments against the "splinter parties." A powerful campaign will be developed to win CCF votes to the Liberals as the only force capable of blocking the Tory reaction. The concept of supporting the "lesser" evil of the two capitalist parties will have effect not only on CCF supporters but through secondary to front rank leaders of the movement. The socialists who could be counted upon to combat the spread of this virus have dropped out or are being squeezed out of participation in the movement. It is to the developing crisis in the CCF that we must ascribe the talk of crisis in the Liberal party. CCFers who will cross the class line into the Liberal camp will not admit their own renegacy — they will find new attributes in the Liberal machine such as "statesman" Lester B. Pearson who may replace St. Laurent as Liberal party leader, Paul Martin whose praise has been sung for years by leading CCFers.

WHICH WAY?

What is the road ahead? The political action committees remaining principally sources for election funds, the machine having replaced the constituency clubs, without a viable left wing, the CCF is in dire circumstances. Given a further even relatively short period of capitalist stability, the continuation and build-up of current opportunist pressures, independent labor political action can take a new course.

It is not probable that any new instrument would arise prior to the next election. Organized labor, the top brass and secondary leadership, will continue on in the same path but probably on a much reduced scale. The CCF will remain the only national party that the advanced workers will be able to support But the experiences during this coming campaign and the election results will tell whether the CCF is to continue forward to become the actual expression of independent labor political action.

WV #21 - Aug '57 08-01-1

AUG '57

LEON TROTSKY 1879 - 1940

By Ross Dowson

Is Leon Trotsky dead? It is hard to believe that he was struck down by a Stalinist assassin in Mexico City on August 20 — 17 years ago.

TROTSKY

In the past month the daily press has mentioned him many times. A United Press dispatch appearing in papers across the continent quotes the Moscow correspondent of the Italian CP paper L'Unita to the affect that the purged Malenkov, Molotov, Kaganovitch and Shepilov accused Khruschev of following a "Trotskyite" line in the USSR. Recently the Globe and Mail compared Khruschev's strategy of handling his opponents to Stalin's ruthless campaign of persecution of Trotsky. The Toronto Telegram, dealing with Malenkov's exile, commented on Trotsky's exile to nearby Alma Ata.

Then there is the re-publication of a great number of his books. His first major work against the Stalinization of the Russian CP and the parties of the Communist International, **The Third International After Lenin**, and his last work on the Soviet Union, **The Revolution Betrayed**, are available again. So too his important study **Literature and Revolution.** There is also the announcement that his major writing, **The History of the Russian Revolution**, listed in the University of Chicago's 100 Great Books along with Marx's **Capital** and Darwin's **Origin of the Species**, is being published by an American university press. According to the German language weekly **Aufbau** of July 19 his works are again available in revolutionary Poland's libaries.

Stalin died in 1953—at what appeared to be the pinnacle of his power—just four years ago. In 1937 Trotsky wrote "Stalin will depart from the scene laden with all the crimes he has committed not only as the gravedigger of the Revolution but as the most sinister figure in the history of mankind." History starting with a speech to the 20th Congress of the Soviet Union by one of Stalin's self-confessed toadies, and continuing with the writings of the editors of the Soviet journal Problems of History is bearing out this prediction, and it is starting to carve and wear away the mountainous Stalinist lies erected against the man Trotsky and his ideas.

The bureaucracy that arose on the economic and cultural backwardness of the young workers' republic, on the ruin of imperialist war and civil war, and hostile encirclement by the capitalist world, found in Stalin its most perfect instrument.

The revolution, triumphant or embattled, found Trotsky its most perfect expression. At the age of 26 he was president of the soviet that sprang up in 1905 in Petrograd. In 1917 he was the organizer of the October insurrection. In the days of imperialist intervention he was the creator of the bastion of its conquests, the Red Army. In the days of danger, with Lenin, he launched the struggle against the rising bureaucracy. In the days of defeats he defended and developed the precious Marxist-Leninist heritage against Stalinist revisionism.

Driven from the Soviet Union, the communist parties throughout the world corrupted into servile tools of the Kremlin clique, into border guards to presedve the status quo and its parasitic positions, Trotsky took up the task of giving guidance to the world-wide struggles of the working class. Do you want to understand the major events of our epoch? Learn from this great contemporary of ours—the program of struggle against imperialist war, against fascism, the path to power for the colonial peoples, etc.

Trotsky's diagnosis, his explanation of the material roots of Stalinism, at the same time contains a prognosis—its downfall through the change we now witness in the world relationship of forces. While he was alive the revolution found its head in Trotsky. Today it is no accident that Trotsky is in the news—these days of the Hungarian workers' councils, the Polish factory committees, the grudging concessions of the Kremlin clique. The revolution is on the march again and it will find its program in the writings of this martyred working class leader.

Thanks to the understanding that he gave to us, we visualize a socialist Canada that will not know the night that the Russian workers are now coming out of—"a pure and limpid social system which is accomodated to the self government of the toilers . . an uninterrupted growth of universal equality —all sided flowering of human personality . . . unselfish honest and human relations between human beings."

Workers' Vanguard #21 August 1957
Editorials

LPP AND TRIBUNE SILENT AS PURGED DENIED HEARING

THE EDITORS

The first announcement of the purge of Molotov, Malenkov, Kaganovich and Shepilov was made on July 3, 1957. However, it was not until its July 22 issue that the **Canadian Tribune,** voice of the Labor Progressive Party, finally made a statement of its own on this important new development in the top circles of the Soviet government.

After having published a great many of the statements of Khrushchev and those of the leaders of all the other Communist

(See TRIBUNE SILENT, page 3)

(continued from page 1)

parties that support Khrushchev, the **Tribune** finally ventured an opinion of its own in the July 22 issue. One would think that after waiting this long that its readers would at least be entitled to a serious and lengthy article giving both sides of the struggle between the Khrushchev group and the Molotov group.

But no, all its readers got was one miserable little editorial entitled a "Great Contribution to Peace." The great contribution to peace being the removal of Molotov, etc., who we are told are against the policy of peaceful co-existence.

In the American counterpart of the **Tribune, The Daily Worker,** staff writer Joseph Clark wrote about this very question in the July 10th issue, Clark's conclusions are quite different from those of the **Canadian Tribune.** He pointed out that Malenkov as premier had promoted the co-existence policy.

Clark, of course, conceded that Malenkov may have changed his mind recently on this question. However, he went on to say; "If he (Malenkov) was guilty as charged by the recent resolution, the Soviet people were entitled to evidence and a statement from both sides. They were never given the benefit of public debate. The struggle was bottled up in the presidium and in the Party's Central Committee. If anything, the methods used in the struggle against Stalinism show that it will still take considerable time before democratic controls and procedures and direct working class rule in all phases of Soviet life are established."

Clark makes a powerful point when he attacks the lack of public debate on the ousting of the four leaders. You will scan the pages of the **Canadian Tribune** in vain for any defence of the right of the ousted four to issue a statement, to debate the issues with Khrushchev before the tribunal of the Soviet working class and to present their case to other sections of the world communist movement.

One would think that with the revelations of the crimes of Stalin and all the pledges and assurances that henceforth there would be "collective leadership" and "rule by law" that members of the LPP would at least be entitled to a hearing of both sides of this question. However, such is not the case, once again LPP members are getting the old meek and humble policy of ideological subservience to whatever strata of the Russian bureaucracy happens to be dominant at a particular moment. Those LPP members who really want to see the "direct working class rule in all phases of Soviet life" Joe Clark talks about, are duty bound to demand that the party to which they belong insists on a fair hearing for Molotov, Kaganovich, Malenkov and Shepilov before the world communist movement.

A Case For Political Action

Aug '57

About 28 per cent of those covered by Department of Labor pension plans quit or are dismissed before they are eligible for pension. In industry generally, there is no doubt a great deal more mobility and therefore a much greater loss by workers of the credits they have accumulated or paid into pension plans. In order to meet this problem the Canadian Labor Congress urges its affiliates to consider negotiating for portable pensions, that unions in a given industry negotiate contracts whereby their members would carry their pensions with them from job to job.

On the surface this seems an excellent idea. No doubt certain unions, because of their organized strength or the nature of the industry could win such a demand. Possibly it could be won without compromising on immediate wage increases as has been usually the case up until now.

But pensions are a matter of grave concern not just to unionists in this plant or that industry but to the population as a whole—not just to 1½ million unionists but to 16½ million Canadians Pensions for security in old age are not matters for negotiating with individual bosses but are an issue for political action.

But June 10th is past—the Tories are in office—there won't be an election until next Spring at the earliest—that is how the trade union leadership of today sees it. In the meantime there is nothing the political action committees can do. Political action lies in the laps of 25 CCF MP's, in their capacity to maneuver, in their being placed in a position of compelling the Tories to make concessions in order to stop the Liberals should they want to defeat the government and force a new election.

The time, funds and energy spent in the winning by trade union processes of a portable pension scheme for what amounts to a handful of workers (and thus removing them from the struggles of the rest of the population) could be much more effectively spent in mobilizing the broadest layers of the Canadian people back of the CCF MP's for a decent national pension plan.

Through newspaper ads, leaflets, rallies, petitions, deputations and demonstrations, the mighty forces of organized labor could be mobilized on a united basis. Forces heretofore unorganized would be swept into the struggle. Forces now antipathetic to unions would see them as great bulwarks against reaction and instruments of social progress. The Tory and Liberal parties would stand exposed. And a gigantic stride towards a workers' and farmers' government would have been made.

HELP THEM WIN!

Are the trade unions of the Toronto area, are Toronto's 100,000 union men going to back Local 32 of the United Chemical Workers Union "the one way," "the only way we're going to defeat Lever Brothers"?

For over four months this striking 500-man-local has faced provocative company paid ads slandering the union and searching out stool pigeons in its ranks; scares over phoney, planted infernal machines; an army of goons, armed to the teeth, leering from inside the plant over the picket line; a court injunction that has turned organized labor's right to picket into a ridiculous farce.

Union ranks have remained firm, morale is high. But the plant is in production—the company has scrounged together a scab work force—its open and declared purpose is to smash this local. Is the organized labor movement in the industrial heart of Canada going to let this local go down to defeat?

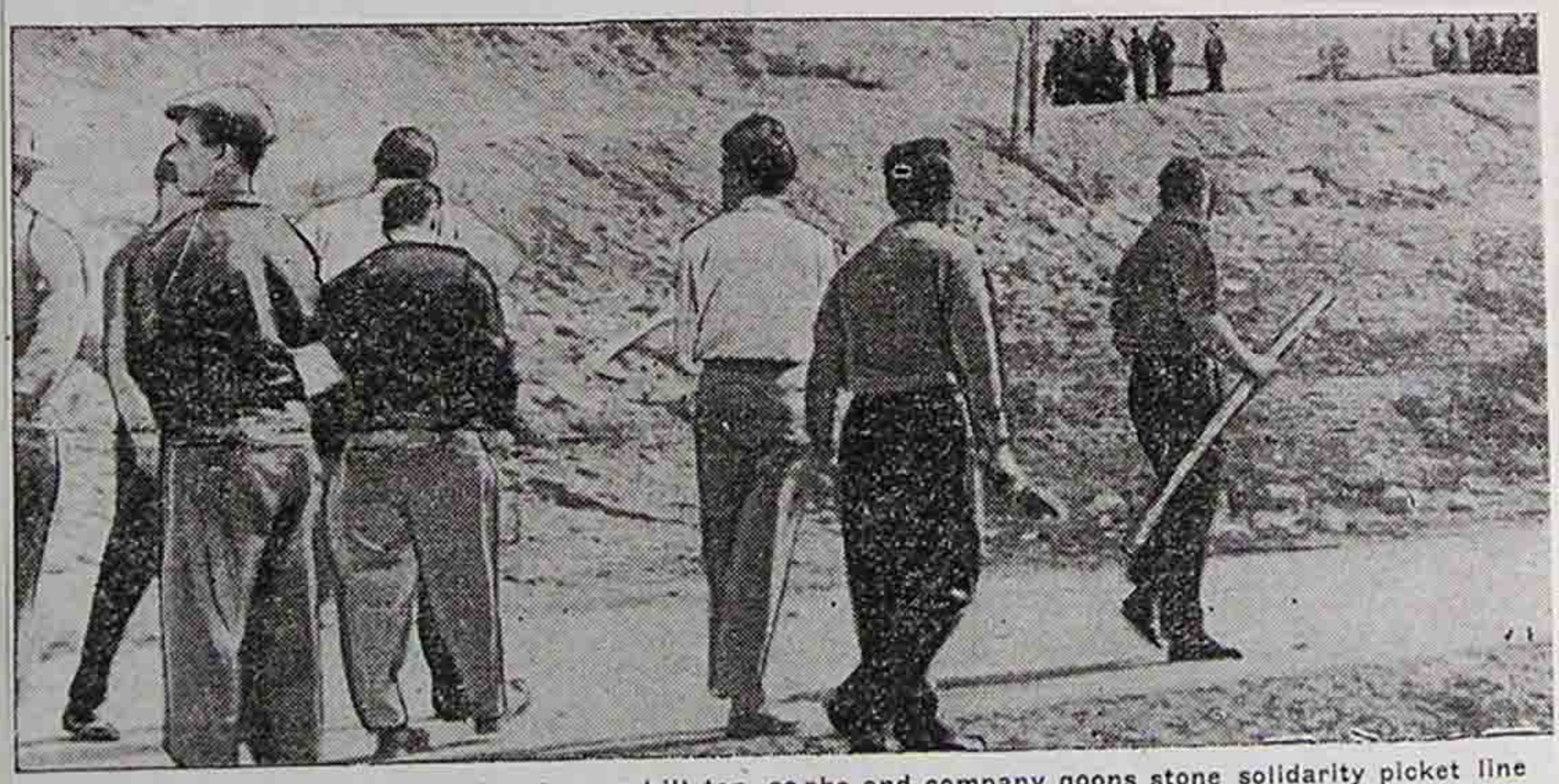
The thousands of workers who will assemble at the September 9th meeting arranged by the Toronto Labor Council at Columbus Hall to discuss this strike must make their voices heard. Their answer must be a resounding NO!

The council has already had a preliminary discussion. Delegates from steel, rubber and the furworkers union have vigorously urged that a mass picket line take over the job that the chemical workers have been prevented from doing by court injunction, in order to win this strike.

Brother Gargraves put it; "I only know one way to make sure a scab doesn't get in there. I only know one way to keep them out." Referring to a critical strike of some years ago, Brother Federman said; "We didn't have money or organization in the old days. But we made up our minds to win the strike. Our duty is to organize mass picketing along with the strikers. That's the only way we're going to defeat Lever Brothers." Brother Hershcovich pointed out that mass picketing is something that cannot come about by itself. "It must be organized."

We heartily concur with these statements. Now from words to action!

The bosses at Murdochville, St. Thomas, Owen Sound, and in Toronto at Canadian Laundry and Lever Brothers, are probing the body of Canadian labor for weak spots. They are testing out the capacity of the working class to defend itself and its past gains. Stop them now! Only a series of massive demonstrations of the organized power of the labor movement can win the day at Lever's! Join the picket line.



While scores of police stand by, from a hill top, scabs and company goons stone solidarity picket line before J. Y. Murdoch's copper plant at Murdochville, Que. A few hours after demonstrators left, goons rioted through the town wrecking unionists' cars, the union office, threatening the lives of strikers.

We went to Murdochville in search of the truth.....

FOR CCF GOVERNMENTS IN THE PROVI

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Vol. II, No. 10 (22) September, 1957 23

STEEL UNION C MURDOCHVILLI

WV #22 Sept. 1957 Editorials

THE GUARD

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SEPT 57

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Behind the Silence on the Tories

An important section of the trade union bureaucracy, certain CCF leaders, and the leadership of the Labor Progressive Party, are adopting, and urging upon the entire labor movement, a soft, wait-and-see policy towards the new Tory government.

On the one hand is Claude Jodoin, president of the Canadian Labor Congress, whose major components are committed to support of the CCF as labor's political arm. When, with cap in hand, he approached Prime Minister Diefenbaker re anti-labor terror in Murdochville he servilely went out of his way to state that organized labor in Canada does not support any political party.

On the other hand we have Tim Buck, national leader of the Labor Progressive Party, suggesting that the new PM is a man who might live up to the sweeping promises he made in the election. "Diefenbaker will have to defy powerful interests within the Progressive Conservative Party and it has yet to be seen what he will do," Buck writes.

The Stalinists, who never do things by halves but go all the way, have the editor of the **Canadian Tribune,** Leslie Morris, warn the CCF MP's of the extreme delicacy of their task of getting concessions from the Tories on the threat of bringing down their government. "Depending on the intensity of the issue," he warns, such a situation "could well have the effect of forcing united Liberal-Conservative votes, thus encouraging the idea of an official Liberal-Tory coalition."

Undoubtedly, Morris writes, "undoubtedly it would be in the interests of the labor movement to do all it could to PREVENT such a development." (our emphasis).

For our part we think labor has no interest at all in preventing an official Liberal-Tory coalition—in fact, nothing better could happen. As long as the fiction of an important difference between the two parties of capital can be maintained, that long can there not even be serious talk about, let alone the election of, a workers' and farmers' government to Ottawa.

While labor has no interest in consolidating the forces of the enemy, nonetheless the coalescence of the parties of Big Business, which is inevitable, is the true measure of the forward progress of independent labor politics. In this sense, far from desiring to prevent it, in the fact that labor's own principled actions inevitably promote it, we welcome and rejoice at the coalition of the Liberals and Tories.

SEPT '57

Not For Workers And Farmers Government

Of course this holds true if you really believe in independent labor political action and that nothing lasting or important can be done to resolve the problems of humanity until there is a workers' and farmers' government in power. The trade union brass really don't. They wish there was some easy way out, some substitute. Their needs are modest. They prefer not to move off the plain of pressure politics. They hope that the Tories will do; and that it won't be necessary to build a party of labor to take the power.

The LPP and the CCF leadership, who also have little stomach for battle, do not want to see the Liberals and Tories forced into a coalition. The LPP is not for a workers' and farmers' government but for an anti-monopolist peoples' coalition which Buck has stated would contain within it "progressive" (sic) capitalists now in the ranks, we assume, not only of the Liberals but possibly the Tories also. The CCF would like to chisel the "progressives" off the Liberal party, prevent them from moving into a hard Liberal-Tory coalition but win them to some new, broad Liberalized-CCF formation. A Liberal-Tory coalition would spell the bankruptcy of the CCF-LPP dogma, of this whole opportunist strategy.

That is why they are compelled to lie about the political situation in Canada today—to maintain their dogma. The entire labor press has remained silent on all the developments since the Tories took office that show that labor can expect nothing from the Tories that they do not, with their organized might, wring from them.

Both the CCF and LPP have advocated the curtailment of military expenditures; the labor leaders have urged increased foreign aid. When queried as to whether the new government would make any changes in this field the new defence minister—General Pearkes but call me Mister—replied; "Governments act in general on the advice of their experts and there has been no change in experts."

Remember when it was charged that the Liberals should resign because of certain irregular relations that some of its members had with business interests? Silence has greeted the revelation that the new minister of labor worked for 24 years as manager of the order department, and between parliamentary sessions, as sales manager, of a company that has been named as participating in an illegal price fixing combine for years.

Remember the hue and cry against Canadian subservience to the US State Department, the Norman case, etc.? Even the Tory press was compelled to rap Diefenbaker for his acceptance of the five-month delayed answer to the former Liberal Government's official protest, and to demand that the government reconsider the whole matter of security exchanges with the US.

For our part, freed from all kinds of dogma and with no interests separate and apart from the interests of the working class, within the compass of our pages, **The Workers Vanguard** will tell the truth about the Tories and the path to building socialism.

ATELLITE OPENS NEW VISTAS

The Workers guard

#23 23 Oct. 1957 Toronto—Price 5 cents

But Throws Military and Atom Diplomats Into Panic

By THE EDITORS

The launching of the earth satellite now hurtling through space at the speed of 18,000 miles per hour, 560 miles out, is one of the greatest scientific achievements of all time.

Man is now about to tear aside the veil from secrets of the universe that, as long as he remained earth bound, were hidden from him. A wealth of information on the planet we inhabit, its atmosphere and the properties of cosmic space, is going to be revealed to us.

Man now commands sufficient force to overcome the gravitation of the earth, to achieve speeds heretofore just draught-board calculations. We are now on the threshold of trips to the moon and beyond. Space travel is now no longer a dream but a reality.

But this great achievement, this tribute to human vision and ingenuity, has not at all been a source of jubilation everywhere. The sinister circles of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization are sulking and worrying over the satellite. They are worried about the impact it is certain to have in the battle for men's minds. Not capitalist America but the USSR was first to launch it. Since the war, while European capitalism has stagnated, the USSR has surged forward to become a power second only to the USA. Now, with this achievement to its credit, the superiority of the planned economy laid down by the Revolution of 1917, the crimes and waste of the Stalinist bureaucracy notwithstanding, is revealed for all to see.

Those in the scientific circles of the West who have prostituted their gifts to the manufacture of thermo-nuclear devices are not at all happy. Dr. A. C. B. Lovell, Britain's leading expert on satellites said, "It is frustrating. The advantage this gives them (the USSR) is enormous." A US scientist, high in official circles, is quoted as urging an all-out program to beat Russia even at the cost of billions because "the issue is supremacy."

Diplomats who dangled the bomb over frightened peoples, who glibly talked about taking the world to the brink, who threaten

see EARTH SATELLITE—page 3

Earth Satellite

(from page 1)

preventive war and massive retaliation, see the USSR's successful launching of the satellite as a disaster.

Six weeks ago the USSR announced that it had developed and had successfully tested an intercontinental ballistic missile. The launching of a 184-pound satellite proves the validity of this claim beyond a shadow of a doubt. The surging tide of the colonial revolution, the cracking of the secret of the H Bomb by the USSR, have been the major deterrents to an atomic war. Now must be added the creation of the intercontinental ballistic missile by the USSR.

The threat of war, imbedded in the capitalist system, has been by no means removed. This task still lies before the working people of this continent. But the weight of military power is shifting out of the hands of the US State Department and this is a good thing for the peoples of the entire world.

Yes, the launching of the satellite is truly an epochal development. The tremendous impact that it is to have on human society is only now beginning to be revealed to us. But on all counts it looks good to us. It is aiding and strengthening the forces already at work to reconstitute human society on a rational, socialist basis—a society which, having conquered over the blind forces that till now have prevailed on this globe, will be truly fit to move out into space and conquer new worlds that are opening up to mankind.

Frank Words

Forecasting revisions in federal labor legislation, the new Minister of Labor, Michael Starr, recently said; "Nothing will be done without the complete co-operation and agreement of employer, employee and unions."

The editors of the Tory **Globe and Mail** rip into these run-of-the-mill platitudinous words of a type that often fill their own columns, with the comment, then "nothing will be done." They tersely point out the impossibility of "agreement and complete co-operation" between these contending forces. Revealing a class consciousness that they usually take pains to mask, they goad the new minister on the matter of anti-labor legislation.

In a similar vein, replying to an apparently bothersome question as to whether there would be any change in "defence" policy, the new Minister of Defence Mr. Pearkes blurted out; "Governments act in general on the advice of their experts and there has been no change in experts."

Elections—Tories come and Liberals go—but the experts remain unchanged. Who are Mr. Pearkes' experts?—the military caste, the government bureaucracy, the judiciary, the owners of industry with their many connections with government. In a word—the state—the executive committee of the ruling class. The essence is there in Mr. Pearkes' remarks.

It is good to hear these words, these frank expressions of the truth about the essential, the real nature of Canadian society. For it is only when armed with the truth that we have the possibility of making ourselves free.

Workers' Vanguard #23 October 1957

Polish Students Fight For Freedom of Speech

OCT '57

By P. KENT

Oct. 7—The students of Warsaw are in the streets again. Demonstrations now in their fourth day and embracing ever wider strata of the population commenced on October 3 with a rally of 2,000 students outside the Warsaw Polytechnic school, protesting the government ban on their weekly paper, Po Prostu. This paper, held up twice last month by censors for its criticism of Stalinism, was closed down by Communist Party officials on Wednesday with no reason given.

Just one year ago these students were in the vanguard of the threats of a nation-wide uprising that forced the Stalinist bureaucracy of the Polish CP to accept Gomulka as head of the regime. Students organized in militias, in the universities, backed up by workers' militias standing at the ready night and day in the factories, forced the Kremlin to accept the overturn in the Polish CP and to call off the Soviet occupation troops who had been ordered into attack positions.

Now, police armed with rubber truncheons, setting off tear gas, are breaking up their demonstrations and bludgeoning and arresting them. About 20 students were injured and another 30 were reported to have been arrested in the October 3 assault. On the following day, despite further threats of repression, they rallied their forces to approve a letter of protest to Gomulka, drafted by PO PROSTU'S editorial board. As they left the school auditorium helmeted police attacked them.

On the same day police routed a demonstration outside the Communist Party's headquarters where the party's central committee was said to be in session. Reports say that as many as 20,000 battled police in the streets for more than three hours and that at least 200 were arrested.

Threatened with expulsion the students did not participate in Saturday's demonstrations which the official radio blamed on "hooligans' and "rowdies." While the Pope from Rome, before the dele-

see POLISH STUDENTS—page 3

Polish Youth Demonstrate Provoke Mass Response

(Continued from page 1)

gates of the Second World Congress of the Lay Apostolate, called for a fight "to the end" with "atheistic communism," his representative in Poland, Cardinal Wyszynski, speaking at a service inaugurating the winter school term, urged moderation on the students.

The Warsaw demonstrations are no more the action of "hooligans" and "rowdies," although such elements are no doubt active, than the Poznan strike, at which the Stalinists flung the same charge when no longer able to carry their original slander that it was the work of "imperialist spies and provocateurs."

The Lodz tramway workers who struck last August were slandered by Trybuna Ludu that they had "let themselves be influenced by irresponsible elements and had put forward unreal demands." This strike, involving 2,500 transport workers, amongst the lowest paid in Poland, was smashed by masked police hurling tear gas bombs and army and police units taking over the three major terminals and manning the street cars.

By their slanders, the Stalinists hope to cover up the fact that they are involved in a struggle with the student youth and the working class and are attempting to crush the most militant and courageous who are searching out the road to workers' democracy. The working class of Poland has begun to enter the arena of political life. Cries of the poverty of the economy ring false while bureaucrats, speculators, private business men, etc., live on the fat of the land.

Gomulka, under the pressure of the left and squeezed by the die hard Stalinists, has been steadily aligning himself with the forces which opposed Poland's October assertion of independence. The intellectuals who risked their lives to bring him to power and who were responsible for building up his popularity have since been the main targets of his repression. The attack on the editors of papers such as Po Prostu is not new; they have been steadily weeded out of the positions on newspapers and magazines where they could continue to influence public opinion. At the same time discredited Stalinists have been rehabilitated and put back in key party and government jobs.

Back in May, at the plenary session of the Central Committee of the Polish Communist Party, Gomulka attacked the workers' councils which have sprung up in almost all the factories since October. It was the movement of the factory workers which gave the mass base necessary for victory to the intellectuals last October.

He told the central committee that no more power should be yielded to the workers' councils; that demands by some of the councils for collective ownership of their factories was a step back towards capitalism; that demands for council representation on the central boards of industries and governments was "a kind of anarchistic utopia"; that while he wasn't for taking away the right to strike workers should not utilize this right; and that strikes beyond certain limits would bring government intervention.

Taking off from Gomulka's anti left-wing, anti workers' council keynote, the right wing demanded virtual repudiation of Poland's October defiance of the Kremlin in the form of a resolution recognizing the primacy of the Kremlin "in the struggle for socialism" and containing outright condemnation of the Hungarian revolution as counter-revolutionary. Gomulka counter-attacked but his course has cost him much of his popularity.

Gomulka sees that the old Stalinist police method is no longer capable of meeting a resurgent working class. He seeks to counter-balance this growing power through conciliation to capitalist elements. The die-hard Stalinist elements see the danger in this conciliation. Yet their course of brutal repression holds even greater dangers as it only permits the contradictions to accumulate, sharpen, and head for explosion all over again. As bureaucrats neither wing will allow, let alone lead, the working class to power. Yet only along this road can the planned economy be safeguarded.

The Polish revolution opened up with Poznan and the struggle of last October. Now it is on the move again. Are we confronted with a new Hungary—a struggle for workers' democracy that this time will succeed? For this, a new revolutionary party must be forged among the factory workers with the aim of full power to the workers' councils and an end of all repression and bureaucratic power and privilege.

Workers' Vanguard

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A NEW FOREIGN POLICY VOTE DOWSON ON NOV. 4

ROSS DOWSON

For Peace and Freedom

- **Stop the H-Bomb Tests** No more maneuvers, stalls such as Canada participated in at the London Conference. Cease the pollution of the earth's atmosphere, stop endangering the lives of the peoples of the world at once. Bar shipment of Ontario uranium being used for military purposes. Develop and produce atomic energy for peaceful purposes. Nationalize the war industries, place them under workers' control.

- **Break from the NATO War Pact** No US troops on Canadian soil; withdraw Canadian troops from other lands. Break Canada's alliance with reaction and oppression everywhere. Align the Canadian people with the great liberating struggles that are unfolding across the globe.

- **Cut the Military Expenditures** Divert the millions now being wasted, to the financing of a national health plan, to a program of subsidized low rental housing, farm loans at cost, parity prices, and other social needs of the Canadian people.

- **Trade and Aid to Underdeveloped Lands** Recognize the People's Republic of China. Stop blocking her admission to the UN. Distribute our surpluses to the needy peoples of the world.

- **For a Referendum on War or Peace** An end to agreements and deals that commit Canada to "police actions" and wars without consultation of the people. Take the war-making power out of the hands of parliament. Let the people vote.

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H-F Election Issue

On November 4 the voters in the riding of Hastings-Frontenac are being asked by the newly-elected Progressive Conservative government to go to the polls to place Dr. Sidney Smith in the house of commons.

In anticipation of Mr. Smith's election to the commons, the Progressive Conservatives have already appointed him minister of Canada's external affairs. This by-election therefore takes on a much more vital character than any ordinary election.

The fate of the Tory government is not at stake. Something much more is involved. The electors of Hastings-Frontenac are being asked to put a minister of external affairs into office. The Tories are asking endorsation of their foreign policy. The whole foreign policy that Canada has adhered to since the end of the Second World War, shaped and administered by the Liberals, but with the complete support of the Tories, is on the ballot paper in the name of Sidney Smith. A fundamentally different policy is on the ballot in the name of Ross Dowson.

Which way? Is Canada, under the bi-partisan policy of the Liberals and Tories, going to continue to align itself with the "on the brink of war" policies of John Foster Dulles and the US State Department? Is it going to continue to prop up discredited dictators such as Singhman Rhee and Chiang kai Shek; to be allied with clerical fascists and slave owning feudal princes; to front for decaying imperialist powers attempting to drown in blood the freedom-struggles of their long oppressed slaves?

And is Canada going to undergo a new orgy of military expenditures, with higher taxes, more debt and surging inflation, which can only end in WAR—H-Bomb war—an intercontinental ballistic war—and the destruction of civilization as we know it?

Or is Canada going to take a new course? A course shaped by the interest of those who work on its lands, in its mills, its mines and its offices, and not by the small handful of industrialists and financiers who see the security of their holdings, both here and abroad, inextricably tied to the interests of Wall Street and its other junior partners. Is Canada going to identify itself with the mighty movement of protest that has swept across Europe and Asia against the poisonous H Bomb tests? Is it going to adopt a foreign policy that solidarizes it with the freedom struggles, the right to self-determination of the colonial peoples; a policy of trade and aid with the great wealth our skills and ingenuity have unlocked from the vast resources of this continent?

And is Canada going to move forward to a new social order, one free of social conflicts, of wars and depressions, to an era of peace and plenty?

The electors of Hastings-Frontenac have been a grave responsibility and at the same time a great opportunity. The bi-partisan, the Liberal-Tory foreign policy is now in a crisis of the first magnitude. The eyes of Canada are on Hastings-Frontenac.

The Foreign Policy Crisis

The launching by the USSR of an earth satellite, an awesome scientific achievement and a colossal stride forward in man's understanding of the world and the universe, has brought on a panic in the top circles of the US State Department, the British cabinet, Canadian ruling circles, and the governments of all countries in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The cause of the panic? It is now clear that the USSR possesses an intercontinental ballistic missile capable of carrying an atomic warhead tremendous distances with accuracy.

Since 1945 when Truman ushered in the atomic age by slaughtering 200,000 Japanese civilians, with applause from the Liberals and Tories, US imperialism has been brandishing its military superiority all over the globe. The US state department and its camp followers' aim is to uphold the capitalist enslavement of Asia, Africa, and South America, and the restoration of capitalist profit and exploitation in the Soviet orbit and in New China.

The entire foreign and domestic policy of Canada, in tune with that

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$12 BILLION WASTED POLICIES BANKRUPT

Continued from page 1

of the US, has been constructed on the lie that "communism" threatens our freedom and that we must prepare for war in order to "liberate" the Soviet people from Stalinist bureaucratic tyranny. That was how Lester Pearson justified the Atlantic Pact, this was the justification for the arms economy, for support of the H Bomb tests, the spy scares, the witch hunt, the intervention in the Korean civil war, etc.

An iron cordon has been built around the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China with more than a million troops and atomic air bombardment bases in 55 foreign lands. Within the past 10 years $400 billion drained from the American people, over $12 billion from the Canadian people, has been spent to ensure military supremacy. Now, with the USSR in possession of the intercontinental ballistic missile, all this, the toil and labor involved in such projects as the Distant Early Warning Line, at the sacrifice of essential social services, has been in vain; has been for nothing.

Of course imperialism has suffered previous setbacks to its plans. The development by the Soviet Union of its own A Bomb and at the same time the victorious Chinese revolution struck staggering blows at the NATO powers. But with US perfection of the H Bomb, NATO became more trucuent than ever. The threat of "massive retaliation" became the screen for more aggressive moves and stepped up war preparations. Then the Soviet Union exploded an H bomb of her own, forcing a further postponement of the assault on the Soviet Union. But now with the development of the intercontinental ballistic missile the weight of military power has shifted to the side of the Soviet Union.

On top of this, one of the main propaganda lies of the cold war has been smashed to smithereens The movement of the workers in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union shows that they are the only force capable of overthrowing the caste of parastic and bureaucratic rulers. These working people are fiercely determined, however, that their political revolution against the bureaucracy shall not be used to bring back the old system of capitalist exploitation and landlordism.

What is the reaction of the Eisenhower administration, and its junior aide, the Diefenbaker government, to the bankruptcy of their whole foreign policy? Their war plans have once again been disrupted and more grievously than ever before, but they have no intention of giving up their aim of world domination. They are trying to figure out how they can trump the Soviet ace.

Mr. Diefenbaker's first comment was that the NATO nations "must co-operate in making larger financial resources available to scientists so they will not be fettered by false economies when weighed on the scales of survival."

Heavier defense appropriations, higher taxes, an increase in inflationary pressures, is their only answer—forward with the arms race! In this mad course they are not at all driven by a fear of external aggression but by the accumulating, explosive compulsion of internal crisis.

Capitalism has no real solution for its inherent crisis. Its answer is more spending, more debt, more inflation. The Tories and Liberals propose to bleed the people white, to help regain military — that is, world-destroying superiority. The US State Department and its allies may play for time, even show a willingness to shift more in the direction of "peaceful co-existence." But they will not change their aims and they cannot forever repress the internal forces that drive toward world conflict.

There is another course; a totally new foreign policy, a policy shaped and determined by the working people of this country who like the people everywhere have no territorial ambitions, have nothing to gain by the bi-partisan Liberal-Tory foreign policy and everything to lose.

Such a policy would align the prestige, good will and the wealth created by the Canadian working people firmly behind the independent anti-capitalist revolutionary movements of the working people in Eastern Europe, Asia and Africa. It is thanks to their struggles that World War III has been so far averted.

To join in the great struggle to achieve the socialist world of abundance, human brotherhood and lasting peace, to implement the program advanced by the Socialist Educational League in this election, the Canadian people must take the powers of government in their own hands.

That the Canadian people can and will place a workers and farmers government in power has been revealed in the strivings that have elected a CCF government in Saskatchewan and 25 CCF MPs to Ottawa. Make the by-election in Hastings-Frontenac a further step forward by voting and rallying behind Dowson and the program that he is fighting for.

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DOWSON or SMITH

In sharp contrast to Conservative candidate Sidney Smith, associate of tycoons and millionaires, Ross Dowson is a worker who has for 23 years dedicated himself to the cause of working class emancipation—a servant of the people in the truest sense of the word.

It was during the thirties that Dowson first became active in the Toronto labor and socialist movement when he participated in the unemployed youth movement. There any dreams he might have shared with youth everywhere of a life free from inequality, unemployment, and war, were shattered. His own experiences demonstrated to him that these could only be achieved with the estab-

See DOWSON—page 2

Tory government spokesmen are trying to build up Sidney Smith, their new external affairs minister, as a great public servant and educationalist, a man above partisan politics. His record shows just the opposite.

Dr. Smith has had long connections with the Conservative party. In 1942 he was all set to take the Tory leadership, until John Bracken, then premier of Manitoba, announced his candidature a few minutes before the convention.

At the time of his assuming the presidency of the University of Toronto, it is a commonly held view that George Drew arranged the appointmen to avoid a challenge by Smith for the Tory leade

See SMITH—page 2

DOWSON — Continued

lishment of a new and rational society based not on profit for the few but on the satisfaction of human needs. It was to the birth of this society that he dedicated his abilities and energies.

His first step was to join the Workers' Party, a group of militants expelled from the Communist Party for their struggle to uphold socialist principles from the corrupting and poisonous influence of Stalinism.

Ross Dowson participated in the union movement as an active militant in the Acme Screw and Gear local of the United Steelworkers. He is a veteran of World War II and distinguished himself by organizing soldiers' protest demonstrations against the scheme of the top brass to use soldiers in civilian industry at army rates of pay. The protests were successful in bringing to a halt these schemes to undermine the trade union movement in its struggles for higher wages.

In 1946 Dowson was elected national secretary of the Revolutionary Workers' Party and for a number of years edited the outspoken socialist paper Labor Challenge. As Toronto mayoralty candidate for the RWP in 1949 he polled 23,645 votes.

In recent years Dowson participated, with other socialists, in the formation of the Socialist Educational League. Today he is secretary-treasurer of this organization and has run under its auspices twice as Toronto mayoralty candidate. In the December 1956 election he polled 9,862 votes, almost 11 per cent of the total votes cast. Dowson is best known as a labor journalist and as editor of **Workers' Vanguard.**

Sidney Smith comes to the electors of Hastings-Frontenac as a stalwart defender of the profit system, a system which is now leading the world to the threat of H Bomb annihilation.

Ross Dowson on the other hand comes to the electors with a program against the threat of war, a socialist program addressed to the ordinary working people and farmers. As his record proves, he stands in fundamental opposition to Smith and Tory big business.

SMITH — Continued

ship to which Drew himself was aspiring. The board of governors of the U of T was then, as now, packed with Conservative party big-wigs, mainly wealthy businessmen and financiers.

Smith generally remained behind the scenes as long as Tory political fortunes remained at a low ebb. Last year an attempt to draft him for the Conservative leadership failed. Now, however, with his party in power, Smith has come out into the open to accept a key cabinet post.

While he was a university president, Dr. Smith's role was primarily that of a businessman rather than an educator. He was a consistent advocate of an educated "elite," a highly trained technical and executive caste loyal to the interests of the owners of industry. He once aroused a public storm by suggesting that high school teachers weed out those unsuited for university — "crammers" and those "incapable of independent thinking" by the use of "secret reports," a virtual spying system.

A few years ago Smith aroused protests from the organized labor movement by advocating a year's compulsory "national service training," that is, civil and military training for youth upon graduation from high school.

As university president his role has been compared to that of the president of a corporation doing an annual business of $15 million. In describing himself he once said, "A university president must be a ball of fire by day and a bag of gas by night." His role was not educational or scholastic, but that of an associate of the multi-millionaire packed board of governors; to hob-nob with the rich owners of industry, who dominate the educational system of this country.

Sidney Smith comes to the electors of Hastings-Frontenac, not as a lofty servant of the people and educator but as a big businessman, a long-time associate of the millionaire rulers of Canada and as the proposed leader for the reactionary international policies which threaten Canada with H-Bomb war.

The Workers
Vanguard

Special Supplement 23 Dec '57 Toronto—Price 5 cents

WHAT THE SEL REALLY WANTS

The Socialist Educational League is an organization of Canadian working men and women, union militants, student youth, housewives, and some in professional occupations.

Its aim is to further the cause of socialism, to participate in the struggle for a socialist Canada in a socialist world.

To this end it carries on intensive educational activity through forums and classes open to all who wish to attend. When the occasion has permitted, and where it has considered it essential that the principle of independent labor political action and the socialist alternative be projected, it has conducted campaigns to elect candidates to municipal and federal government office, as it did recently in Hastings-Frontenac. One of its most important activities is the publication and circulation of the monthly paper **Workers Vanguard**. The **Vanguard** and all the other activities of the Socialist Educational League are financed by the nickles and dimes donated by its members and friends.

The business of the Socialist Educational League, all the decisions governing its activities, are made at its meetings. There, complete equality is practised. Every member enjoys the same rights, privileges and duties. There is no organization as democratic as the SEL. Everything is done to assure minority opinion full expression. This way everyone understands whatever differences there are and why they have arisen. Thus the possibility of error is cut down to a minimum

Since the SEL wishes to participate in as effective a way as possible in the working class struggles, and does not want to be a debating club, once a decision is made, that decision of the majority is binding on all. A minority is expected to do its best to make the common decision a success. Should it in the course of experience remain unconvinced of the correctness of the majority position it is free to bring the matter up again at the next discussion period.

The Socialist Educational League was organized in November 1955. In the truest sense of the word it was organized by the top leadership of the CCF. The SEL came into being through the coming together of a group of CCFers some of whom had been members for as long as 20 years but were expelled from the Ontario section of the CCF for their views some months previous to November. They fused their forces with a group of revolutionary socialists who had been barred from membership in the CCF by the right wing but who had, in collaboration with CCF left. ists, worked in various CCF constituency organizations. The latter, sometimes called Trotskyists for their identification with the

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ideas of Leon Trotsky, leader with Lenin of the Russian Revolution, martyred for his struggle against Stalinism in the USSR and the world labor movement, together with the socialists expelled from the CCF, were joined by other previously unattached socialists. They came together to carry on the work that they had been doing prior to the actions of the right wing CCF leadership, under the changed circumstances forced upon them.

Since the Socialist Educational League seeks to establish a society where there will be the fullest democracy, a society which can only be established through the fullest and most conscious participation of the working people, there is nothing that it is more anxious to do than to make its views known to everyone.

The Socialist Educational League's views on day to day events are expressed in the pages of the **Workers Vanguard**, in the manifestoes that it has issued in the various elections that it has participated in and in statements that it publishes from time to time. The central concept of the SEL is the establishment of a workers' and farmers' government in Canada, concretized at this stage of political development in the slogan appearing on the masthead of the Vanguard—FOR CCF GOVERNMENTS IN OTTAWA AND IN THE PROVINCES.

The Socialist Educational League

(Continued overleaf)

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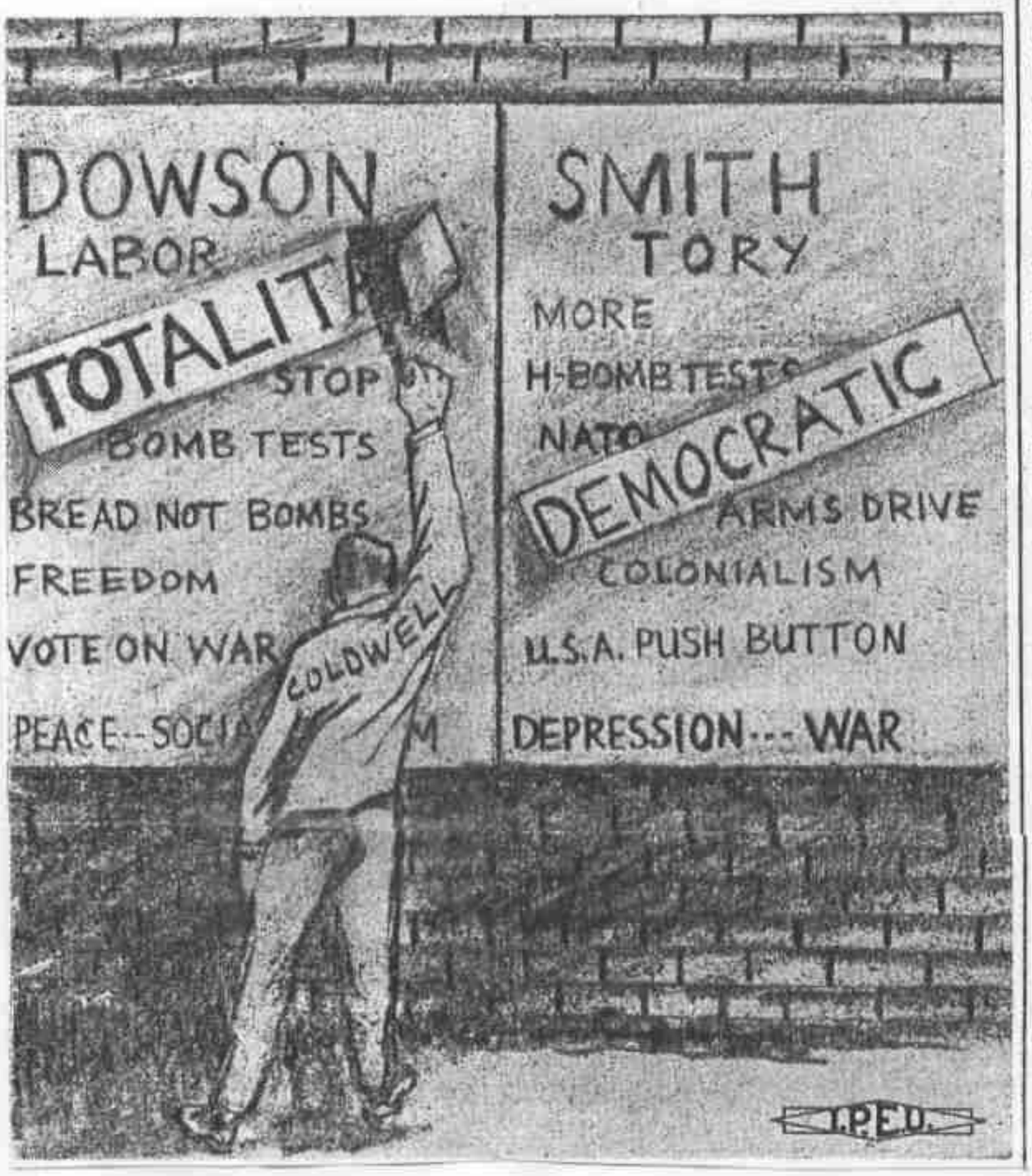

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Socialist Edctl League Its Aims & Objectives

(Continued from Overleaf)

is not for the reform of capitalism, not merely for the modification of some of its worst evils, but for its replacement with a society free from war and depression through the transfer of the basic means of production out of the hands of Canada's Fifty Big Shots and into the hands of those who now operate these factories, mines and mills, the working people, the vast majority of the population.

Once in control of the forces whereby they live, the Canadian people will be in a position to determine the conditions of their lives. Order and plan will replace the anarchy and chaos of present day capitalist society. Having conquered the blind forces that hitherto have prevailed, instead of the rare Beethoven, Michelangelo and Einstein, who illuminate the great capacities of the human race, man as a whole will rise to his true stature.

The SEL sees the realization of this 20th century atomic age society through the developing class consciousness of the workers.

In harmony with the objective forces at work in society it attempts to aid the working people to see their true position in present day society. It attempts to help the worker overcome the mythology of "private enterprise," to cease to futilely dream that he, too, can be a millionaire, to cease to devise schemes whereby he can beat the system, to cease to attempt to take advantage of hatreds, prejudices and superstitions fostered by the capitalist system, but to find his place in the ranks of his fellow workers.

Far from being dead, the class struggle is the greatest reality. It is through the ever-increasing class consciousness and the ever-increasing class unity of the workers that the attainment of socialism depends. It is only through the victory of the working class over the capitalist class who now prevail that the new society can be built—a society where class distinction and all force and violence will eventually disappear.

SEL members are the best supporters of the principle of independent labor political action and the best fighters and builders of the unions. They have no interests separate and apart from the CCF or from the union. To be an SEL-er means to be a better unionist and CCFer, to stand on the progressive side of the unions and the CCF—on the side of the most effective struggle for better wages and working conditions and on the side of the struggle for a socialist policy.

One of the slogans that the SEL has been advocating is the holding of a referendum on the question of war. Canada was committed to the Korean "police action" by the Liberal government despite the known opposition of the people. It has now been revealed that the Tory government has even handed over these powers to a military figure in the US army. The Canadian people must take the war-making power out of the hands of the military and out of the hands of the government and decide this matter of war or peace themselves in a nation-wide democratic referendum.

Another demand which the SEL considers is becoming of increasing importance is the demand for a sliding scale of hours to meet rising unemployment. Without the right to work a worker has no rights. Unions should incorporate in their contracts a clause that automatically adjusts the work-week downwards with the same take-home pay to ensure all employment. During the Lever Bros. strike, along with Murdochville a probing action against the Canadian labor movement, the SEL advocated the mobilization of the mighty forces of Toronto labor in mass solidarity demonstrations on the picket lines.

Many workers, besides those who have combined to form the SEL, have come up against the top leadership of the CCF. Most unionists have had some experience with the conservative minded leadership that has grown on their organizations. This bureaucracy that has developed on top of the CCF and the trade union movement arises from the enormous pressures of the capitalist system. The official leaderships have become conservative, even reactionary. Instead of developing a program to render the organizations they head more effective instruments of the class, they frustrate the will of the membership and even become transmission belts through which the capitalist class makes its influence felt inside the working class movement.

The big task in the unions, as in the CCF, is to build a new leadership that will uphold democracy that will fight for a program that will defend and advance labor's interests. Against the fossilized top bureaucracy in the unions it is necessary to organize a left wing against the "Liberals in a hurry" Coldwell leadership — organize a socialist opposition.

The workers who have found their way to the Socialist Educational League are dedicated to this task. The abuse, the lies and the slanders flung at them by the bureaucracy will not deter them—it is a proof that they are on the right course and are carrying out effective work. Together in unity and comradeship they participate in the struggles of the working class that will lead to the socialist society of enduring peace and plenty.

to right Col.

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CAMPAIGNING IN HASTINGS

By The Campaign Manager

DEC '57

The far-flung, hurried, bang-up, no-holds-barred election campaign in Hastings-Frontenac was reminiscent of the campaigns in which many of us participated years ago in the fight to put the CCF on the map. A rural riding, traditionally Tory, incredibly gerrymandered.

Much better to contest an urban seat, to work on ploughed ground, where there is a union movement and some experience along the line of independent labor political action, where it is easier to mobilize your forces, arrange meetings, leaflet, and so forth. But Hastings-Frontenac! A scattering of little hamlets, a few towns, dominated by Orange Order halls, serviced by weeklies that brazenly label the candidate the Communist Party candidate sponsored by the Communist Party, only a couple of union locals in the whole vast

(Continued overleaf)

CAMPAIGNING IN HASTINGS

(Continued from Overleaf)

area, the population mostly retired farmers, people working in goods and services, many left high and dry by the ebb of the tourist season.

Not much for socialist ideas there—particularly in these days. But we had no choice as to where we could run. That was entirely in the hands of the Tories. They chose Hastings-Frontenac — they chose the battle ground. The CCF brass, the union leadership—everyone else chose not to run. Fair weather soldiers! Summer soldiers! But the Socialist Educational League, in keeping with the great socialist tradition, fought the class enemy where they were, on the grounds they chose and the terms that they laid down.

It was a big name we took on. Sidney Smith, Doctor Sidney Smith, an eminent man, a man of culture and education, former president of the largest university in the British Empire, for years behind-the-scenes Tory policy maker and strategist, erudite, sophisticated, glib, going through the motions to get into the commons as Canada's minister of external affairs, going to represent Canada in the chancelleries of the world.

Oh yes, take on the ward heelers, the bosses' political stumblebums, their stooges who can't put two words together but are on the gravy train. But Sidney Smith! Can't you see the labor fakers, the labor statesmen and "liberals in a hurry" awed by the presence of this pompous skilful Tory word-twister.

So much the better! That is just who has to be challenged, the Smiths, the persons about whom there are the greatest illusions, who are presented as being above politics.

But the minister of external affairs! And when all the major parties see eye to eye, are united on, foreign policy! So much the better, too! For in this period of relative prosperity, with unemployment only now becoming an issue in the minds of the broad layers of the workers it must be admitted there really are no national issues. Foreign policy is though, and a key one—the H-Bomb tests, the colonial revolutions, the military budget and all their implications of higher taxes, witch hunt and war.

It was in that spirit, the fighting, audacious, confident spirit of socialism that the SEL went into Hastings-Frontenac.

There is not much of that spirit around these days. Coldwell and others were once touched by it but it didn't impregnate them, just touched them. They look upon themselves as statesmen and warm their starved souls at the occasional column of adulation, of respect, that comes from the Ottawa press gallery and the editors' desks. They always had inner doubts about the workers, even certain fears of them. They look upon themselves certainly not as tribunes of the workers, but as the conscience of the Liberals and Tories, as sponsors of the workers' cause before the state of which they stand in awe.

Yet the SEL entered into the struggle in Hastings - Frontenac with audacity and with confidence —confidence in the program of socialism which it has become all the fashion these days, even in circles calling themselves socialist, to voice doubts and scepticism about.

Our confidence was rewarded, and was reaffirmed, and in of all places, Hastings - Frontenac. Of course, in Denbigh we met two prominent CCFers openly campaigning for Tory Smith and where oddly enough, we polled four times our average vote. But the man who headed up our nomination petition, and with enthusiasm, was twice the CCF candidate in the provincial field. Then there was a retired railway worker in Havelock. Was he glad when he neard that the Tories were going to have to campaign for the seat! Where had we been since nomination day, he demanded? We protested we had been working in another part of the riding. Well, he had been going to go down to Toronto to find out why we had not been carrying a campaign, to see that we did so, and he then proceeded to outline what we must do in his area.

Of course we met ignorance and bigotry, red baiters and witch hunters, simple people who swallowed the Tory-Coldwell slanders against us hook, line and sinker. We met hostility, hatred and just plain

Left Col.

vacuity. But we expected all that and it is necessary to meet it too and attempt to overcome it.

We campaigned in Hastings-Frontenac but Canada was our stage. Our election campaign and parts of the program we ran on received nationwide publicity — sketchy, garbled, but the odd time not so garbled. So our campaign, among other things, was a contribution to the thinking that is taking place in the ranks of Canada's socialists — to the regroupment processes that have been taking place since the 20th Congress CPSU and the CCF Winnipeg convention. This, we declared, is what the Socialist Educational League has to say? What do you say?

to left col

Workers' Vanguard
DECEMBER, 1957 Special Supplement 23 Toronto—Price 5 cent

CCF Leaders Intervene in H-F Red-Bait Opponent of Tories

Ont. Prov. Sec. Bryden

October 23, 1957

To CCF Members in Hastings-Frontenac:

It has been announced in the press that Ross Dowson of Toronto is a candidate in the Hastings-Frontenac by-election scheduled for November 4.

I think that CCF members and supporters in this riding are entitled to know that Dowson is a Trotskyist (which is an extreme form of Communist). Though he usually poses as a friend of the CCF, he actually has a long record of trying to disrupt CCF work in Toronto and elsewhere.

All over the world, democratic socialist movements like the CCF have steadfastly opposed the totalitarian philosophy of communism (and Trotskyism is an extreme form of communism). In fact democratic socialism is one of the greatest obstacles in the world to the advance of communism. As a result, the communists (including Trotskyists) have persistently tried to destroy it.

Since they are completely unscrupulous, their normal tactic is to try to worm their way into democratic socialist organizations by pretending they are friends, and then to try to disrupt these organizations by sowing confusion and dissension from within.

Dowson and his cohorts have often tried this tactic on the CCF. They have not, of course, come even close to destroying the CCF as a whole. Nevertheless, there have been two or three occasions in the past where they have succeeded in completely wrecking individual CCF clubs. The members of such clubs were not familiar with Trotskyist tactics, so they accepted Dowson's friends at face value and let them into their clubs. They then found to their dismay that the continuous dissension and disruption fomented by the Trotskyists made it impossible to carry on effective work. Such clubs had to be rebuilt from the ground up after the Trotskyists were thrown out.

In the present by-election campaign, Dowson will undoubtedly try to persuade CCF-ers that he merits their support. He will, of course, play down his real philosophy and will try to tell you that his objectives are just about the same as the CCF's.

He will probably give you a newspaper (which he publishes with money received from the U.S.). He will point out to you that this paper proclaims at the top that it is for the election of CCF governments at Ottawa and Queen's Park. The particular issue he gives you may be fairly innocuous and may in fact appear as if it does support the CCF, but anyone who has read this paper over a period of time will know that it is usually attacking the CCF in an underhanded way. Its attacks often take the particularly vicious form of trying to cast doubt on the honesty and integrity of CCF leaders such as M. J. Coldwell and Premier T. C. Douglas.

If Dowson approaches you directly or indirectly for support, I would suggest that you should consider his blandishments in the light of the record I have just outlined. I would also appreciate it if you would convey this information to our CCF supporters who are not members and who will therefore not receive this letter.

Ken Bryden,
Provincial Sec., Ont. CCF.

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Their Morals and Ours

What moral or ethical concept impelled Coldwell and Bryden to intervene in the Hastings-Frontenac by-election? What moral or ethical concept caused them, with the resources of a broad national movement at their disposal, to leave the seat open for the acclamation of a candidate of Canada's capitalist party par excellence, and to intervene against the SEL which assumed the responsibility of providing an alternative to the Tories?

Feelings of class solidarity would have compelled them to support Dowson's candidature. But the class struggle is dead, according to Coldwell, and socialism, the CCF leadership never tires of pontificating is a moral and ethical concept. The morality that leads to Coldwell's and Bryden's actions, despite all their lofty pretentions, can have only one name—it is a capitalist morality that lands you into the camp of the capitalist class.

But according to these specialists in morality, the socialists, the SEL, not the Tories, were the force of immorality in Hastings-Frontenac. The SEL, according to Bryden, is amoral. "Since they (the SEL) are completely unscrupulous," he writes. The SEL, of course, is not at all amoral—it has a morality. Whereas the Coldwells start from an above-the-class concept, only to end in the camp of bourgeois morality, the SEL morality takes as its point of origin, its class viewpoint. It has a working class, a socialist morality.

The morality of socialism is the highest morality, determined as it is by the historic need to liberate humanity. What leads in the direction of the socialist liberation is moral. But, our specialist on morals will charge, you believe that the end justifies the means—suggesting that a class morality, that socialist morality, believes that any means whatever is justified.

The truth is that the end determines the means. Socialism teaches that not any means is justified, for means and ends are interrelated. What is an end at one stage of the struggle for socialism becomes in turn a means to a higher stage in this process. The means adopted to achieve the socialist end must therefore be in harmony with that end, or it will be self-defeating.

It was its socialist morality which impelled the SEL to enter into the H-F fight. The SEL looked upon this by-election as a means to the socialist end—as an opportunity to further the fight to socialism In harmony with its socialist end it told the electorate the truth—it never truckled or trimmed its sails—it told the truth. On the other hand the CCF leadership resorted to the most despicable means, proved to be truly amoral—and to what end?

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Ntl. Leader Coldwell

October 25, 1957

Editor,
Ontario Intelligencer.

My attention has been drawn to an item in your edition of October 22, dealing with the Hastings-Frontenac by-election. A Mr. R. J. Dowson, editor of a paper called "The Workers Vanguard," has entered himself as a candidate on what is described as a Labor ticket. The Vanguard is a paper published by a group who support the revolutionary communist teachings of the late Leon Trotsky. It has been throughout its short life a particularly violent critic of the CCF and its leaders.

I note that Mr. Dowson says that he would align himself with the CCF at Ottawa, if this were agreeable to our Party. I want to say, immediately, that in the unlikely event of Mr. Dowson winning the by-election, he would certainly find no welcome from the CCF and no opportunity of aligning himself with us. The electors of Hastings-Frontenac should understand clearly, not only the position which the CCF would undoubtedly take, but also that in masquerading as a Labor candidate, he is merely endeavoring to hide the fact that he is a follower of the teachings of Leon Trotsky, who denounced democracy and who believed that the only solution to world problems lay in the violent overthrow of parliamentary and other governments, and the institution of a world dictatorship. It would be for that philosophy that an unsuspecting voter would cast his ballot, if he did so for Mr. Dowson.

M. J. Coldwell,
House of Commons,
Ottawa.

Smith's Opponent Replies

November 2, 1957

Editor,
Ontario Intelligencer.

It was unfortunate that the leadership of the CCF did not assume their responsibilities to the electorate and enter a candidate in opposition to Sidney Smith in the Hastings-Frontenac by-election. By failing to do so they gave no opportunity to the already overburdened taxpayers to protest Prime Minister Diefenbaker's announced new armaments drive, to protest the rising unemployment that particularly threatens the Bancroft uranium miners and to protest the continued blastings of the H-bombs that pollute the atmosphere with radio-active materials endangering human habitation of the globe.

Upon their failure to meet their responsibilities, the Socialist Educational League sponsored my candidature.

Now that there is a choice before the electorate, now that the voters do not have to abstain from voting for a Tory who presumably represents everything that Mr. Coldwell abhors, you would think that these leaders would suggest to anyone who asked advice that they vote Dowson, even if reluctantly. Or at the very least in all humility they would keep quiet, but not at all!

In a letter to your paper, Mr. Coldwell advises the electorate not to cast their votes for Dowson but to either vote Tory, or, what amounts to the same thing — abstain. He does so by charging that I have secret views, views that are quite the opposite to those outlined in my program which we are endeavoring to place in the electorate's hands.

According to Mr. Coldwell, who claims to have some special knowledge of my alleged secret views and for which he offers no proof, I do not really seek election to the Commons to advocate my views but I am for the "violent overthrow of parliamentary and other governments." I am alleged to be an advocate of force and violence although I did not support World War II, Canadian intervention in the Korean war, or the rearmament of the Junkers and ex-Nazis, the old enemies of the German people, as Mr. Coldwell did. I do not really oppose the Tories who sustain the present rule of Canada by the few (capitalists) and I do not seek to establish in Canada the rule of the many (who are the working people) to establish a real democracy as I claim. Not at all! I am alleged to be seeking to establish a dictatorship, a "world dictatorship" no less.

Mr. Coldwell has been red-baited, has had his real views twisted and distorted, has faced many a campaign where red herrings have been dragged across the trail. On this occasion he has himself performed this service for the Tories gratuitously. He has saved them the trouble of going about this dirty business.

The Hastings-Frontenac voters of course owe it to themselves to examine the programs of both candidates, carefully and without prejudice, and to conduct themselves accordingly on November 4th.

Ross Dowson,
Marmora, Ont

Vanguard

Vol. 2, No. 13 (25) December, 1957 23 Toronto—Price 5 cents

SEL Fought Effective By-election Campaign

Nov. 4 saw 10,513 voters, scarcely more than a third of all the qualified electors in Hastings-Frontenac, cast their ballots for Tory candidate Sidney Smith in a by-election held to place him as Canada's minister of external affairs in the house of commons.

Almost 2.5 per cent of those casting ballots, 266, voted for Ross Dowson who campaigned as a labor and socialist candidate.

DOWSON

The vote behind Dowson for a totally different policy to the bi-partisan Liberal-Tory foreign policy, for an anti-war policy, one which would align Canada with the great liberating struggles unfolding across the globe, is a good one considering the difficulties of campaigning in Hastings-Frontenac, deliberately chosen by the Diefenbaker government as a "safe seat," and the open support that the Ottawa and Ontario CCF top leadership gave the Tory machine.

As with the Lanark riding a few months previous, through a deal cooked up with the Liberal, Social Credit machines and the CCF top brass, the Tories were all set to take Hastings-Frontenac by default. Then Dowson, editor of the WORKERS VANGUARD, stepped in. His campaign, sponsored by the Socialist Educational League, forced the first by-election contest since the Tory sweep into office last June.

Dowson's nomination, filed at the last moment on October 21 upon the failure of the CCF and organized labor to present an alternative to the Tories, roused howls of indignation from the capitalist press. The Toronto Globe and Mail headed its report on the nomination

DOWSON TO RUN ROBBING SMITH OF ACCLAMATION

The Toronto Telegram headed a three-column article from its Ottawa correspondent

DOWSON'S NOMINATION TO COST EXTRA $9,000

While endorsing increased armament expenditures in the billions, and admitting, contest or no, the move to get Smith into the commons was going to cost the electorate $10,400 plus the lifetime senatorial stipend handed to G. S. White to vacate the seat, the Telegram counted up the cost of distributing ballot boxes and renting polling booths. It bemoaned the fact that the election process would bar Smith from taking his seat in the commons for 28 days. He could have been rushed into the house in one day, otherwise.

This by-election for Smith, former president of the University of Toronto and a longtime strategist of the Tories, who moved out of the back corridors when the Tories came to power last summer, was held in Hastings-Frontenac for good reason. It is certainly no cross section of the Canadian people. It has been brazenly gerrymandered to assure the election of the Tories who have held it almost without interruption. One of the largest ridings in the country, with its western boundary about 120 miles from Toronto, skirting Kingston, Belleville and Peterborough, an enclave cutting up into it to eliminate even such a community as Tweed (population 1,655), it is almost completely rural.

With the exception of Marmora where Bethlehem Steel is exploiting iron deposits, and Bancroft, almost 50 miles north, where uranium developments have created four new polls since June 10, there is no organized labor movement. There is no CCF constituency organization. This seat has not been contested in the last three federal

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H-F By-election Campaign Fought Effectively by SEL

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elections by any tendency in the labor movement. In 1949, in Hastings-Peterborough, modified to become the present Hastings-Frontenac, out of a total slightly higher than that cast this Nov. 4, the CCF polled 732 votes.

The Socialist Educational League and friends carried out a pioneer campaign under the banner of Peace and Socialism. Almost 12,000 copies of the League's election manifesto were distributed in the riding. Almost 2,000 posters advocating Stop the Deadly H Bomb Tests, Withdraw from the NATO War Pact, Cut Arms Budget for Housing, Export Bread — Not Bombs, For a Referendum on War or Peace, were nailed up along the highways despite continual harrassment from the Department of Highways and town constables. Canvassing was carried on in the main communities.

So dynamic was the SEL campaign that the Tory machine felt compelled to extend themselves by a blanket mailing of two leaflets, by bringing Smith, who didn't attend the nomination, into the riding to deliver a couple of speeches, and by importing Minister of Labor Starr and Minister of Transport Hees.

The Tories never took up the challenge flung at them by the editors of VARSITY, a daily newspaper published by the Students' Administrative Council of the University of Toronto over which Mr. Smith presided before his appointment as minister of external affairs. They never dealt with the key issue of foreign policy, which is the pivotal point of national policy.

In this the Tories were aided and abetted by the Ontario and Ottawa leadership of the CCF. Unashamed by their failure to provide the electorate with an alternative to Toryism, they aggressively intervened in the election to launch a vicious red-baiting campaign against Dowson and the SEL. They gave the Tories their election slogan, that appeared not only in the paid ads but in the news columns of the seven weekly newspapers—Keep Hastings-Frontenac Democratic, Vote Conservative!

Just two days after nomination, in the guise of a letter addressed to CCF members in the riding, Ontario Provincial Secretary Ken Bryden submitted a lengthy statement for publication to all the local newspapers. A few days later CCF National Leader M. J. Coldwell addressed a letter to the Belleville Intelligencer later picked up by all the local newspapers. Coldwell took it upon himself to warn the "unsuspecting voter" not against Smith, but against Dowson. Not against Tory reaction which can only lead to war and fascism but against the socialists who he lyingly charged are for "the institution of a world dictatorship."

Bryden's letter, a package of outright lies and innuendos, ran the whole gamit of the red-baiter's technique—all the way from the receiver of foreign gold charge, (this time from the US) to the traditional "advocate of force and violence" communist charge, with Dowson, always added in parentheses, being the most "extreme form" of communist.

There is no doubt that the treachery of the CCF leadership, which is certain to redound against the trade unions and the CCF itself, seriously cut into the SEL's vote. The issues of the election were smeared over in the atmosphere of fear and hostility generated against the SEL. But the SEL did an effective job, the best it could, to cut through and popularize a program which is certain in the light of future experiences to not only get a hearing but to become the policy of a Canadian workers' and farmers' government.

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Editorial

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SPEAK NO EVIL

DEC '57

As unemployment mounts across the country a massive campaign is afoot to convince us of the magic of words and the miracle of beautiful thoughts.

Unemployment and crisis of course have nothing to do with the workings of the capitalist system as revealed by Karl Marx, the man they allege invented the awful word capitalism. According to Brooke Claxton, former minister of national defence and now general manager of Metropolitan Life Insurance, it's all in the mind. "Acting as if it (inflation) were inevitable," he warns, "is one of the best ways to bring it about."

The prime minister himself joins in the campaign with the thought that "the sowing of fear of mass unemployment is a dangerous course to follow; for it can lead to a depression complex." The editors of "Canada's National Newspaper" wax lyrical on the theme. According to them the whole Canadian economy rises and falls, swings and sways, on words, on the good or bad words uttered by important people and the impact that they have on others.

Should union leaders warn of the rising threat of unemployment the stock market plummets and business retrenches—and before you know it we have the very thing they warned about—mass unemployment. On the other hand if we would only have beautiful thoughts like Ontario's premier Frost. He said a few magic words about the harm being done to the economy by the premium on the Canadian dollar and presto-chango caused the premium to shrink.

Talk about unemployment, they warn, since it has such drastic repercussions, "might almost then, be called sedition. Certainly it is disloyal to Canada." What we need is faith. If we "expect the employment situation to be good and act accordingly—it will be good."

Right now hundreds of thousands are unemployed. They are talking and thinking about their dire circumstances, about the cause of it and the remedy. Their thoughts are gloomy and accordingly, we assume, seditious, threatening the economy with further crises. At the same time, however, they wish for employment, they hope and act along the lines of getting a job at employment office after employment office. We suppose a word will be found for this paradox. But one thing for sure, they tell us, unemployment has nothing to do with capitalism—it's a system of boom.

Intl. Solidarity Blocks Gov't.

DEC '57

By P. KENT

If the Canadian government continues on its course it will have the 53 million workers affiliated to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions striking against it. The ICFTU has threatened to plank down an embargo against Canadian National Steamship boats entering foreign ports if their Trinidadian registry is not cancelled.

Early in November the government moved in behind nationally-owned Canadian National Steamships (West Indies) Limited, part of the vast CNR transportation network whose eight ships used on the West Indies-Canadian run have been struck by the Seafarers International Union since July 4. It transferred these ships to Trinidad registry. By this act it hoped to smash the strike; to remove the ships from SIU jurisdiction and permit the hiring of scab crews from West Indies ports. Some 95 seamen being flown in from Jamaica on two government chartered TCA planes to scab on the striking Canadian seamen were ordered to return to Kingston on November 15th but the men are still drawing pay.

The Tory government's strike-breaking and scab-herding was justified in the house by Minister of Transport Hees as being in the interests of economy. After subsidizing the mining moguls to the tune of millions, not to speak of the billions being tossed away in military expenditures, the government suddenly found it no longer possible to cope with an added cost in the neighborhood of $225,000 a year required to meet the union's demands. Up to 1927 Ottawa had paid in $6 million to

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SIU Strike —

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keep CNS running—since then another $7 million has gone to meet operating deficits. But the costs of meeting the union's demands for a 40-hour work week, two additional paid holidays, and a 20 per cent wage increase, which would still leave CNS wages below the minimum paid any other Canadian flag fleet, was too much.

So far, the 220 striking SIU members' refusal to knuckle under to an estimated $500,000 government-paid campaign designed to break the strike, the solidarity of the ICFTU, the declaration of the British Trade Union Congress that it would stop its members manning CNS ships, and the Trinidad Seamen and Waterfront Workers' refusal to handle CNS cargoes, have blocked CNS attempts to get its ships underway from the Halifax docks on its scheduled sailings of Nov. 30.

Stalemated on this front, the government was more successful in its dealings with 52 St. Lawrence River pilots who struck on November 5. The pilots, who handle river traffic between Kingston and Montreal, and are subject to Transport Department regulations and by-laws under the Canadian Shipping Act, struck in order to establish a compulsory pilot charge and more licensed pilots.

Handed a back-to-work deadline by the Department of Transport, they asked to have their district abolished so they would be free to bargain directly with the Shipping Federation of Canada. Threatened with a $200 fine each, with suspension and possibly cancellation of license, on November 19 they returned to work on a government promise to appoint a committee to study their problems.